University of Alberta

In Consort: Queen Victoria, her Court and Women Musicians, 1837-1861

by

Jennifer Raechal Caines

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 2007

Library and Archives Canada

Published Heritage Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada

Direction du Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-29655-4
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-29655-4

NOTICE:
The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:
L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

DEDICATION

I am fortunate enough to have many people to which to dedicate my work.

To my family, who have always supported my educational aspirations.

To my circle of strong women, Genevieve, Irma, Barb, Ruth, and Ada—their patient ears and encouraging words are a constant comfort.

To Kit, whose constant belief in me and my abilities has carried me this far and will undoubtedly take me further.

All my love.

ABSTRACT

Women played a crucial role in musical activity at Queen Victoria's court. Queen Victoria's position at the head of this musical activity marks her and her court as important factors in the careers of women musicians. Despite the use of the Queen's name to typify the era and its people and a wealth of studies of Victorian musical culture, music at the Queen's court itself has attracted surprisingly little attention. While some research has revealed the scope of musical activity there, a detailed examination of Queen Victoria's involvement in women's musicians' careers has yet to be undertaken. Throughout Victoria's reign her court hosted the century's most prominent musical names. This study examines musical activity at Queen Victoria's court from the perspective of women performers and their patron. Both parties exerted more influence over the court and over British culture than has generally been acknowledged.

In my dissertation I investigate three areas. First, I document the nature and scope of women's musical activity at court and compare it to the place of women in publicly visible venues. Second, I trace the reception of women's musical activity at court both in the press and by the Queen herself. Here the court performances are a particularly valuable source of information, since contemporary coverage of performance ordinarily focused on public venues, which admitted women performers only to a very limited degree, rather than on the salons in which women musicians played a crucial role. Finally, I explore the impact of court musical life on the lives of these and other women. Court life affected women in several ways. It directly promoted the careers of particular

musicians; indirectly, women musicians in general were promoted through the activities at court; and symbolically Victoria's own image may have helped promote the representation of these women in a positive light.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation has grown from a lifelong fascination with Royalty to a specific quest for an understanding of the relationship between Queen Victoria and women performers of her era. I would like to acknowledge the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to use material from Queen Victoria's journals, which I consulted on my research trip to the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle.

I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor Dr. David Gramit for all his support and encouragement throughout my degree at the University of Alberta. His resourcefulness and compassion as an advisor go unmatched and were always appreciated. His letter of recommendation to the Royal Archives opened the door to this dissertation. To the other members of my supervisory committee, Dr. Susan Hamilton and Dr. Christina Gier, I am grateful for their suggestions throughout the editing process. They both brought interesting perspectives to my writing and research, and renewed my passion for this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: Women Musicians and Queen Victoria 1

Explication of Title and Limitation of Dates

Literature Review and Sources

Queen Victoria and Court Music: an Overview

Music in Victorian England

Victorian Women

Queen Victoria

Primary Sources

Method

Chapter 1: Victoria—Sex, Nation, Class and Music 31

Queen Victoria: Sex, Nation and Class

Queen Victoria and Music

Private and Public Patronage

Conclusion

Chapter 2: Queenly Receptions—the Press, Royal Discourse, and Victoria's Journal. 57

The Victorian Press

Gendered Reviews

Singers and National Identity

Singing in the Reign: Opera Stars as Queens

Private Spaces: Queen Victoria as 'Opera Queen' and Music Critic

Conclusion

Chapter 3: Private Performances, Public Agency—Women Musicians and the Economy of Court Performances 98

Salon, Concert Hall, or Private Home

Pomp and Circumstance: the State Concerts

Singing for their Supper: the Economics of State Concerts

State Concerts and Nationality

Royal Respectability

Conclusion

Chapter 4: Performing the Political—Queen Victoria's Patronage and its Societal Influence 157

Royal Example, Royal Taste

From Good Taste to Bad: National Criticism

Queen Victoria and the Women's Movement

Queen Victoria as Spectacle: the Royal Actress

Putting the 'Virtue' Back in Virtuoso: "Women Worthies

Conclusion

Chapter 5: Epilogue 207

The Court Mourns

Further Work

Bibliography 218

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

1. Cartoon for "The Royal Actress's Debut" in *Figaro of London* 195

TABLES

1. The musical expenses for William Martin's first quarter as Gentleman Usher, ending 30 June 1849 79

2. Miscellaneous expenses from Martins's first quarter as Gentleman Usher ...80

3. Expenses of State balls, State and private concerts from 1850-1856 80

4. Programme for the State Concert in honour of Princess Victoria's Wedding . 86

5. Expenses for the State Concert in honour of the Princess Royal's wedding .. 87

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

RA	Royal Archives
VIC	Victorian Archive
QVJ	Queen Victoria's Journal
RSFM	Royal Society of Female Musicians
RSM	Royal Society of Musicians
LC	Lord Chamberlain's Papers

Introduction

Women Musicians and Queen Victoria

Whether it was an informal evening of music or more formal State Concerts, women musicians could be found in many aspects of court musical activity. While women authors and artists have been studied at length as more acceptable professions open to career-minded Victorian women, the more lucrative and public professions available to women, actresses and musicians, have only more recently become topics of interest. Much of that focus has discussed the position of women musicians in public and private social spaces. I argue that Queen Victoria's court and her patronage served an integral role in the growing acceptance of women in the music profession. Professional, amateur, high and low music all found a place in court musical activity with women musicians involved at every level. The breadth of music at court shows Queen Victoria's love of music, and certainly her respect for those women who chose it as a profession.

My dissertation discusses the relevance of Queen Victoria's patronage of women musicians in a number of areas. Despite the critical attention that some of her female subjects continue to receive, Queen Victoria "is usually regarded as a nineteenth-century curiosity—a fascinating subject for frequent biographies but not an essential object for analysis of Victorian culture."[1] I locate Queen Victoria as a significant influence on the careers of women musicians and musical culture. After the introduction, which reviews relevant literature and introduces my

[1] Adrienne Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 2.

approach, Chapter 1 explores Queen Victoria's symbolic significance in relation to her musical patronage and the musical activity at her court. Chapter 2 examines Queen Victoria's State Concerts and other performances at her palaces as central venues for professional female musicians at court. There were social and financial benefits for women musicians appearing at State Concerts. There were also rules of etiquette that affected the nature of the performance. These and other factors frame the discussion of Queen Victoria's private patronage.

Chapter 3 contrasts the nature and scope of women's musical activity at court with their public reception. In Victorian domestic ideology, though not uniformly in practice, public venues were considered men's social sphere, while the private sphere of the home was a woman's accepted space. Thus, publicly active women musicians were "compelled to perform to meet men's approval."[2] Musical reports appeared in an estimated two hundred journals devoted to music.[3] An examination of these writings with attention to the public/private dichotomy and the question of women's musical activity will contextualize women's musical activity at court in comparison to public venues. However, with Queen Victoria as mistress of court music, women musicians were no longer accountable to a male patron. Here the court performances are particularly valuable, since contemporary coverage of performance ordinarily focused on public sites rather than on the salons in which women musicians played a central role.

---

[2] Jennifer C. Post, "Erasing the boundaries between public and private in women's performance tradition," in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music,* ed. Judith Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 45.

[3] Leanne Langley, "The Music Press in Nineteenth Century England," *Notes* 46/3 (March 1990): 584-5.

Performances at Queen Victoria's court were highly visible salon sites, but, unlike other salons that did not receive extensive press coverage, lists of performers and their repertoire appeared in the press in the Court Circular. Queen Victoria's court, then, was unique for women musicians not only because in Victoria they found a female patron, but because in the larger musical world their positions were less valued compared to their court appearances.

In the final chapter, Queen Victoria's public support of women musicians is considered. I explore the public impact of court life on these and other women. Queen Victoria and her support of music at court directly promoted the careers of particular musicians; indirectly, women musicians in general were encouraged by court activities; and symbolically Victoria's own image may have spurred the representation of these women as queens of song and piano. These metaphorical "queens" served as examples of women's power in an age when women were believed to have minimal social impact outside the home. The public prominence of these women began to create a social space in what was historically a male sphere. Because of Queen Victoria's example as a powerful woman and the emerging status of women musicians, I also discuss this patronage circle's relationship to the mid-nineteenth-century's women's movement.

A concluding epilogue focuses on the fate of court musical activity following Prince Albert's death in 1861 and after Victoria's reign. I also suggest further areas for exploration.

The chapters progress from private to public spaces, moving from the private space of Queen Victoria's court and the role of women musicians there to

public musical spaces, the reception of women musicians there, and Queen Victoria's role in facilitating that acceptance. Chapter 3 considers both private and public criticism of women musicians and bridges the gap between Queen Victoria's private criticism of women musicians and the public criticism printed in the Victorian press.

Explication of title and limitation of dates

As my title, "In Consort," suggests, women musicians had help. While nineteenth century women's agency was predominantly domestic, certain women musicians, I argue, held considerable public power—cultural, symbolic, economic, social, and political. "In Consort" is a play on the phrase 'in concert;' implying that where they performed, and for whom, played an integral part in their struggle for recognition and acceptance. The scenario implied by the rest of my title—Queen Victoria, her court and women musicians—suggests that Queen Victoria's court was an important space for women musicians in particular, and musicians in general, despite what scholars have described as a decline in Royal patronage.[4] Queen Victoria's patronage at her court and in public was also a legitimizing factor in women musicians' careers. This evokes another meaning of the word consort: partnership or fellowship. Like a king or queen's companion, a consort implies an emotional support or an association between individuals. In this case the relationship between patron and musicians provided a supportive

[4] See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: a social history* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 17 and Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 118.

environment for women musicians, both on a professional level and to a certain degree through companionship among the musicians and with their patron.

I have selected the period from Victoria's accession in 1837 to 1861 as the main focus of this study. In the first chapter and epilogue I extend these dates in order to provide a contextual framework; first to show how Princess Victoria's musical education enabled her to pursue music as an informed amateur and finally to demonstrate the effect on musicians of her perpetual mourning following Prince Albert's death in 1861. The years 1837 to 1861 were the most vital years for activity at court, with music playing a prominent role in that activity. They were also years of tremendous personal change: Victoria came to the throne a single woman, married Prince Albert in 1840 and subsequently started a family. Despite these life-changing events, Queen Victoria continued to make music a priority at her court. Musically, this period brought the best musicians in the world to England as traveling virtuosos, making London a vibrant location of musical culture. Historically, the mid-nineteenth century was a time of prosperity and reform in Britain. Britain's empire was firmly established; the women's suffrage movement was gaining momentum, in part due to Queen Victoria's reign and position and the increasing presence of women in the public sphere. All these factors intersect to make a fascinating time to examine change in British society and, in particular for this study, that society's music and musicians.

Literature Review and Sources

Queen Victoria and Court Music

Michael Budds's 1987 dissertation *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria* provides a foundation for an examination of women's musical activity at court.[5] Budds's dissertation was the first academic look at music at Victoria's court. In this way it provides the basic background for my dissertation; however, it lacks a critical discussion of the material, and simply relates factual information. That it took until 1987 for such a work to be undertaken shows the lack of recognition of Queen Victoria's activities as a patron. Although some articles concerning Queen Victoria as a musician and a patron were written near the end of her reign, long prior to Budds's dissertation, their brevity and lack of depth detract from their usefulness.[6] As historical documents, however, these articles and Budds's dissertation are helpful in that they point to Victoria's prominent social position in musical circles. More telling still is that nothing further has been done in this field since Budds's dissertation, despite his initial exploration of music at the Royal Chapel, the musicians of Her Majesty's Band, and Prince Albert as a composer.

Particularly useful is Budds's documentation of performers and repertoire of the State Concerts. In an appendix, Budds reconstructed the programmes of all the State Concerts during Victoria's reign, by using the Court Circular printed in the *London Times* and cross-referencing this with programmes found in the National Archives, formerly the Public Records Office. Budds's lists of

---

[5] Michael Budds, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria.* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1987).
[6] See "The Queen as Musician," *Musical Times* 38 (June 1, 1897), 369-71; and "Queen Victoria and Music," *Musical Times* 42 (June 1, 1901), 374-5.

performers and concert appearances helped focus my attention on the impact that Queen Victoria had for female musicians and her larger impact on musical culture.

My dissertation furthers Budds's initial study in several ways. Budds gives little attention to the role of women musicians at court; I make their appearances at court and their association with Queen Victoria the center of my dissertation. Rather than recount and recreate concert programmes and musical activities, I examine Queen Victoria's influence as a patron, her relationship with prominent women musicians, her writings as criticism of their performances, and the political repercussions of her musical activity. In addition to my study of Queen Victoria and the women musicians appearing at her court, I also contribute new information regarding the financial aspect of State Concerts. Like Budds, I also worked with material from the National Archives. Since my concern was finances and not repertoire, I consulted documents regarding household accounts and expenses kept by the Lord Chamberlain in order to support my claim as to the importance of women musicians at court concerts, in particular State Concerts.

Musicians in Victorian England

Much more has been written on musicians in Victorian England than at Queen Victoria's court. Cyril Ehrlich's *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: a social history* (1985), deals with the development of the music profession, particularly the social stigmas of class and gender as they relate

to music as a profession.[7] Ehrlich briefly focuses on music at court, saying that after the eighteenth century it provided "little more than a minor source of direct income [for musicians], and potentially remunerative social contacts for concert engagements and lessons."[8] Although, as will become clear, Queen Victoria's patronage offered much more to women musicians, Ehrlich's overgeneralization is understandable, since not only does he not specifically consider gender in relation to court music; he himself indicates that additional work needs to be conducted concerning individual cases. Queen Victoria needs to be examined as a critically important, yet neglected example of such a case, indeed as one of the nineteenth century's most prominent patrons.

Deborah Rohr's book, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans* (2001), continues Ehrlich's work and supplies additional context for musicians working at Queen Victoria's court.[9] The strengths of Rohr's book lie in her focus on gender, national and social identities as they relate to the role of musicians during this time period. Like Ehrlich, she discusses music at the Royal Court in a general manner and presents it as on the decline. Within the limits Rohr sets, this interpretation is understandable, but it is misleading with respect to Queen Victoria in particular. While court music may have dwindled following the enthusiastic patronage of King George III (during

---

[7] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: a social history* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 16, 31.
[8] Ibid., 17.
[9] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 42, 118.. This book is an extension of her dissertation: *A Profession of Artisans: the careers and social status of British musicians, 1750-1850.* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983).

King George IV and King William III's reigns), we will see that Queen Victoria was quick to revitalize musical activity.

William Weber's "Artisans in Concert Life in Mid-Nineteenth Century London and Paris" also addresses the status of professional musicians.[10] Weber's concern for the position of the artist in relation to the public illustrates how musicians were constantly negotiating images and reputations. Weber's discussion of the power of singing and its use as social control are especially valuable, since singing in public was an activity that women, both amateur and professional, were permitted. Upper classes hoped that carefully chosen programmes and their patronage would "prevent social unrest or crime."[11] The involvement of the upper and lower classes in musical culture made for a vibrant and literate music-going public.

In addition to this work on the condition of British musicians in general, there is substantial literature written about the plight of nineteenth-century women musicians. Paula Gillet's *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: 'Encroaching on All Men's Privileges,'* although it covers a time period outside the scope of this dissertation, first looks back and traces the social gains by women from the mid-1800s.[12] Although women musicians could be admired by the public, this admiration was thought to "degrade the character" of female performing artists.[13] Further, distrust for those in professions associated with the

---

[10] William Weber, "Artisans in Concert Life in Mid-Nineteenth Century London and Paris," *Journal of Contemporary History* 13 (1978): 253-7.
[11] Ibid., 255.
[12] Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: 'Encroaching on All Men's Privileges'* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).
[13] Ibid., 144.

theatre and public performance meant that even the most sincere admiration of a music lover "appeared within a social context that questioned whether the woman singer would be welcomed by respectable society."[14] These considerations were factors even for such reputable women as the vocalist Jenny Lind[15] or the pianist Clara Schumann.[16] Although I single out some women musicians as exemplary, rather than examine individual cases in great detail, I piece together a number of women's careers that represent common issues for all women musicians of the era. Every woman musician mentioned in this dissertation performed at Queen Victoria's court at one point in her career, at either a State or miscellaneous concert. That the issues of morality and propriety continued to confront women musicians after Queen Victoria's period as an active patron shows the continual negotiation of public acceptance for women musicians in particular. Because of Gillett's time period, Queen Victoria's role in furthering the careers of women musicians is understandably left unexamined. This is all the more reason to study Queen Victoria during the early years of her reign, the era when she was most influential on the music scene.

In another article Deborah Rohr narrowed her studies from the careers of British musicians to a study of women and the music profession in England.[17] Her article focuses on the development of a society to support professional women musicians during the time period of my study. The male equivalent of

---

[14] Ibid.

[15] Swedish soprano (1820-1887) who was known for her pure singing tone that led to her nickname the Swedish Nightingale.

[16] German piano virtuoso (1819-1896) who toured Europe as one of the more successful pianists of the nineteenth century.

[17] Deborah Rohr, "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839-1866," *Journal of Musicological Research* 18/4 (September 1999): 307-347.

this society, the Royal Society of Musicians, was reluctant to support women musicians, because of the stress on the society's finances in supporting male musicians and their families. The founding of the Royal Society of Female Musicians (RSFM) occurred at a time of "heightened debate about the roles and rights of women, and it parallels important early developments in the reform laws to improve women's legal, economic, and occupational options."[18] Rohr discusses briefly Queen Victoria's involvement with the formation of the society, which demonstrates Queen Victoria's interest and concern for women in the music profession outside of court performances. Since Queen Victoria is not a driving force behind the RSFM, she is therefore not a significant factor in the article. My dissertation locates her more closely with female musicians, including those who belonged to the RSFM, as a supportive patron of their careers.

Katharine Ellis's article, "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris," examines the way women musicians were treated in the French press by male critics.[19] In the same way that journalistic criticism in England discussed feminine characteristics revealed in performance, male critics in mid-nineteenth century Paris, Ellis shows, developed a new rhetoric for female performers. Ellis's central issues of female pianists, their critics, and their reception framed my approach to similar criticism of women musicians in England. Although Ellis deals with a different location than my study, Paris and

---

[18] Ibid., 312.
[19] Katharine Ellis, "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50/2-3 (1997): 353-385.

London were both active music centres where women musicians were trying to find a respectable place within social circles.

Victorian Women

Complementary to the more specific situation of women musicians is the condition of other professional women and women in general during the nineteenth century. A wealth of literature exists in these areas. Books examining the social condition of women in the nineteenth century often include women musicians, writers, artists, and actresses as examples of aberrant positions when compared to the ideal Victorian woman.[20] Such writings demonstrate the political nature of a woman appearing before the public and provide the context for women musicians' relationship to and acceptance by society. By political, I mean a public position that was observed by others that may have initiated change. Using other professional environments like the theatre, fine arts, and creative writing, women working in the performing and creative arts were making a political stand. The power of the actress, for example, resided in her ability to give implicit expression to commentary; her career took an indirect political position because she was addressing current issues of interest to society and women as part of that society:

---

[20] See Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (New York: New York University Press, 1995); Duncan Crow, *The Victorian Woman* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1971); Martha Vicinus, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); Juliet Blair, "Private Parts in Public Places: the case of the actress," in *Women and Space: ground rules and social maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981): 205-228; Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian London* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900* (London: Routledge, 2000).

> her professional training require[d] her to study the emotions, ideas, and circumstances of women in order to portray them. She [was] far from being a passive vehicle for the playwright's thoughts, but..., through her art and the independence and the power this brings, express[ed] her own ideas, and experiment[ed] with new modes of living in fact and fiction.[21]

Likewise, a career in fine arts was also a political statement. By the 1840s an increasing number of women worked as artists in search of economic and social independence.[22] The same political opportunities belonged to women musicians, whose public performances, interpretive talents, and daily lives were subjects of great interest to society. Similarly, they were attracted by the lure of financial security and a chance at climbing the social ladder, both significant concerns for the time.

In general, nineteenth century women achieved much toward creating a public space for themselves, but by the century's end "it was still important to struggle for further changes, such as to gain more public respect for their activities."[23] As with other areas of Victorian studies, the literature on women's place in society makes only brief reference to Queen Victoria's influence upon women in general and the more contested positions in particular. I will relate the social gains achieved by women musicians to Queen Victoria's patronage of their careers.

There was a rift between the Victorian ideal of womanhood and the reality of women's situations. The predominant ideal for Victorian women is best

---

[21] Shirley Ardener, "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction," in *Women and Space: ground rules and social maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 17.
[22] Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 10.
[23] Perkin, *Victorian Women*, 168.

embodied in the title of Victorian poet, Coventry Patmore's poem, 'Angel in the House.'[24] According to this ideology a woman's proper place was in the home. The angelic (read: idealized) woman was expected to marry, run a household, raise a family, and provide a superior moral example. The epithet of the 'angel,' however, was not the only one women received, especially those women in the public sphere. Furthermore, the idealized angel was certainly not the reality lived by many women. While the upper and middle classes could afford the luxury of a mother devoted only to the privacy of home, the lower classes, often out of necessity, had women in the workforce rather than at home.[25] Society's angelic ideal held little hope for working class women struggling to maintain a job and run a household or the middle class wife whose care of the children defined her existence; it also had "little connection with any functional and responsible role in society."[26]

Music had its own place in the 'Angel in the House' paradigm, and many of the same limits apply to its validity. Musical instruction in voice or keyboard filled a young lady's day for the middle and upper classes. Her education centered on accomplishments valuable for the marriage market and her eventual role as mother.[27] A lady was expected to display her accomplishment, if called

---

[24] Ian Anstruther, *Coventry Patmore's Angel* (London: Haggerston Press, 1992), 2.
[25] Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 47. But this workforce was a veiled one; at the core of women's work were the domestic chores that were performed in the privacy of the home. Women worked in factories as seamstresses or milliners. Women took in sewing or laundry; executing for the richer classes tasks that they were also expected to complete in their own homes. Positions such as governess or domestic servant also alleviated financial worry, while maintaining women in their rightful sphere.
[26] Martha Vicinus, "Introduction: The Perfect Victorian Lady" in *Suffer and Be Still: women in the Victorian age*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), ix.
[27] Ibid., x-xii.

upon at musical soirées, but she was to have no professional aspirations.[28] If and when times got financially tough, however, a woman's competence in music could provide for her and her family in the acceptable role of music teacher, or if her talents were particularly prodigious, as the less acceptable, but potentially more lucrative, performer.

Professional women musicians often challenged the public/private binary and as such were at odds with the paradigm of Victorian womanhood. Musicians and actresses were sometimes likened to prostitutes because of their "contravention of men's rules for feminine behaviour…not only in terms of [their] public profile, but also [their] perceived anti-domestic choice."[29] However, there was a hierarchical structure within the female branches of musical and theatrical professions; the quality of the performer and the prestige of venue separated the more respectable from the questionable performers. Mediocre singers and instrumentalists, as well as chorus and ballet girls, were more suspect in terms of propriety, but they were not appearing at court either; nor were the music hall singers and dancers who were often compared to prostitutes for their availability and suggestive behaviour on stage. The most prestigious performers, the prima donnas and renowned instrumentalists, had less trouble in this respect; however, because of their profession they were still at odds with the ideal Victorian woman, and as such were cautiously accepted to a certain degree by society. This did not mean that their reputation was unimportant, but because of

---

[28] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain*, 6.

[29] Tracy C Davis, *Actresses as Working Women*, 86. Just as the categories of high and low music encompassed a broad grey area, the category of actress included any career that involved public performance by a woman, meaning operatic and concert singers were considered actresses.

their talent they rose above other women performers. These were the musicians who entertained at Victoria's court.

As the century progressed music gradually became a more acceptable profession for women. Because of professional women musicians' struggle to prove their propriety and respectability, the stigma of public performance grew less shameful, but this renegotiation only slowly superseded the more accepted place of the home for women. Other artistic careers, such as writing and painting, occurred in private spaces. These professions also allowed women to hide behind a pseudonym and to create without displaying their bodies in public. Teaching music was also an acceptable profession, since women teachers "nearly always worked in a family setting."[30] Nevertheless, all these professions gave women power within Victorian society. But the most power, I argue, belonged to women musicians performing in public.

Women musicians performing in public appeared before mixed audiences: men, the majority of whom did not advocate a public space or voice for their wives, mothers, or female relatives, but who recognized women musicians as members of the public sphere by their presence at performances; and women, whose accepted place was the home. Here, women musicians' importance lay in the audience's perceptions regarding women in the public sphere. Their power was a double-edged sword: women musicians were objects of both awe and anxiety. Their beautiful voices and appearances made them objects of attraction and envy. Conversely, their significant positions in the public sphere identified

---

[30] Martha Burns Dennis, "A Gallery of Teachers and Students," in *Piano Roles: Three hundred years of life with the piano*, ed. James Parakilas et al. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 165.

them as unconventional examples of ideal womanhood, to be feared and kept at a distance because of their perceived power, both sexual and social. Women musicians, however, were not alone in their quest for acceptance by society. Male musicians were not without problems. Music's association with femininity caused male musicians to "masculinize performance practices" in order to assert their masculinity. As Richard Leppert notes, Franz Liszt in particular employed numerous images of masculinity—machines, military honours, swords, and heroism—to "overwhelm[] the commonplace associations and uncertainties revolving around the piano and masculinity."[31] Male musicians, then, had their own struggles for legitimation and acceptance alongside professional women musicians.

While not all women would have coveted the lives of women musicians and were content to be entertained by them, some must have been envious of their relative social freedom. The opera houses and concert halls, the public spaces for the category of professional women musicians I am concerned with, were places to see, as well as to hear, high calibre performances. These were the more respectable musical establishments, and thus were more acceptable places for women to take part in public performances. They were also spaces that gave women musicians the opportunity for upward social movement. Undoubtedly, there was still an element of improper display,[32] since upper class parents discouraged their children from seriously considering a career as a musician or

---

[31] Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas et al., (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 260-281.

[32] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850* (2001), 11-12.

actress, or any other career for that matter.[33] Even parents in the music profession discouraged their daughters from following in their footsteps. Victoire Balfe, English soprano, pursued an operatic career despite the wishes of her father, the composer Michael Balfe. Yet, prestige, respectability and fame were attainable for numerous women musicians, especially with Queen Victoria's interest in and support of their careers.

Queen Victoria

Queen Victoria has been the focus of many biographies.[34] Most recently, her life and career have come under new scrutiny. Rather than focus on her life's details, scholars are now exploring Queen Victoria's effect and influence on nineteenth-century culture. The work of two scholars, Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, is especially thought provoking. In *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876*, Homans examines Queen Victoria's various images and her manipulation of those images to strengthen her relationship with her subjects.[35] Adrienne Munich's *Queen Victoria's Secrets* considers Queen Victoria's cultural power, her effect on her subjects and her

---

[33] Ehrlich, *The Music Profession*, 6; Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 11.

[34] Biographies of Queen Victoria were published around the world shortly after her death, and occasionally by extended members of her court: Charles Morris, *Life and Reign of Queen Victoria: being a complete narrative of her complete life and beneficent reign...including the lives of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra* (Chicago: International Publishing Company, 1901); John Coulter and John A. Cooper, eds., *Queen Victoria: her gracious life and reign* (Guelph, Ont.: World Publishing Co., 1901); J. Castell Hopkins, *Queen Victoria: her life and reign* (Toronto: The Queen Publishers, 1901); A. Ponsonby, *Queen Victoria* (London: Duckworth, 1933); Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria: an eminent illustrated biography* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 1921; reprint 1998). Other oft-cited biographies include: Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria RI* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964); Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Queen Victoria: from her birth to the death of the Prince Consort* (New York: Knopf, 1972); Roger Fulford, *Queen Victoria* (London: Collins, 1951).

[35] Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

unwavering royal authority.[36] These authors collaborated in 1997 on a text that studies Queen Victoria's influence not only on her subjects and nineteenth century culture, but for those outside her empire and the generations after her reign.[37] These books are helpful in that they examine Queen Victoria's manipulation of situations, media, her role as monarch and the resulting effect on her subjects and the culture at large.

Other recent writings have become more critical of past biographical contributions. Dorothy Thompson's *Queen Victoria: the woman, the monarchy and the people* examines Queen Victoria's political role, as well as the social gap between her and the middle classes, who, despite that social distance, looked at Queen Victoria as one of their own.[38] Thompson's portrait of Queen Victoria is very human and focuses on Queen Victoria's relationships with her subjects, Prince Albert, Lord Melbourne and John Brown, while questioning images of Victoria's iconography that have characterized her since her death. In a similar manner, Lynne Vallone's critical biography *Becoming Victoria* juxtaposes the youthful Princess Victoria with the imposing, dour Queen, who dominates popular memory.[39]

A recent study of Queen Victoria's relationship to nineteenth century theatre examines her relationship to a specific cultural activity.[40] Although there is certainly some overlap concerning music and the theatre in the nineteenth

---

[36] Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, 1996.
[37] Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[38] Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: the woman, the monarchy and the people* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990).
[39] Lynne Vallone, *Becoming Victoria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).
[40] Richard W. Schoch, *Queen Victoria and the theatre of her age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

century, Richard Schoch's *Queen Victoria and the theatre of her age* is more concerned with Queen Victoria's influence and patronage of spoken drama than operatic or musical performances. Schoch demonstrates Queen Victoria's importance in making acting a respectable profession;[41] he also establishes her patronage as an example for her subjects.[42] Valuable as these models are, the distinction between musical and theatrical institutions means that these conclusions cannot simply be transferred to music comprehensively. Queen Victoria's musical pursuits were conducted on a much grander scale than her theatrical interests and her attention to women musicians, in particular, is not evident in her patronage of the theatre. While her involvement as a patron may not have directly made the music profession more respectable for women, their association with Queen Victoria and her court certainly was not a sign of amoral behaviour. Likewise I discuss in Chapter 4 the association made by the press connecting Queen Victoria, her subjects, music audiences and her effect on their taste. My dissertation thus contributes to an understanding of Victoria's influence on and patronage of women musicians as both a part of her larger cultural influence and a unique undertaking from which they benefited in various ways.

Primary Sources

In addition to the above writings, there are a number of primary sources that inform my research. It was a privilege to consult Queen Victoria's journals

[41] Ibid., xiii.
[42] Ibid., xvii.

housed at Windsor Castle's Royal Archives. Her discussions of musicians and musical events are articulate and enlightening; however, a caution regarding their editing needs to be made. Upon Queen Victoria's death in 1901, Princess Beatrice, Queen Victoria's youngest daughter, transcribed at her mother's request passages from Queen Victoria's journals into a series of blue copy books.[43] As she finished with the original manuscripts she destroyed them by fire. This raises questions concerning the authenticity of the documents since, as one author argues, "Princess Beatrice felt constrained not merely to destroy, without transcribing, substantial portions of her mother's diary, but also to alter substantially a great many other portions which she did transcribe."[44] Without the original journals, of course, it was impossible for Woodham-Smith to know exactly how much was destroyed or altered; his biography is so removed in time from Princess Beatrice's editing that his conclusion regarding their editing is conceivable, but uncertain at best, without additional evidence. Given Queen Victoria's enthusiasm for life and music until 1861, her writing carries the same keenness. Multiple exclamation points, single and double underlining capture the enjoyment Queen Victoria took in activities, musical and otherwise. Since Princess Beatrice took the pains of recreating such markings, I too attempt to incorporate these telling symbols in my quoted excerpts.

The editor's bias is also important to consider. For example, the girlhood journals (until her marriage in 1840) of Queen Victoria have since been typewritten. Her entries regarding music are quite lengthy and detailed. After

---

[43] It was these blue copy books and Queen Victoria's earlier, typewritten girlhood journals that I had the opportunity to examine at Windsor Castle.
[44] Woodham-Smith, *Queen Victoria*, 444.

Princess Beatrice's editing begins there is much less attention to the opera and musical events. The focus is more on daily political and family events. Musical events were still present in the entries, but they do not receive the space that they had previously. A possible explanation for this is that her marriage to Prince Albert, her growing family and her political duties took priority over her musical musings. Another explanation is that as an editor Princess Beatrice felt that musical events were less important. Princess Beatrice's editorial bias is evident in the discussion of her childhood activities. As an example, the description of the days following Beatrice's birth extends to six pages, but the parallel places concerning her brothers and sisters do not receive the same attention.

Particularly for Chapters 3 and 4, I consulted articles and reviews from and about the nineteenth century press. The bulk of these serials are on microfilm at the University of Alberta, but I also used the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library at the University of Alberta for copies of the *Illustrated London News*. Materials held at the British Library were additional sources of information, particularly their collection of British serials. The *Times Digital Archives* was also helpful in locating reviews and the Court Circular column, which recorded the Queen's daily activities.

English newspapers and journals at the time still allowed critics and reviewers to remain anonymous; however, we can assume that most of those writing about women were indeed men, especially given the gendered language of their reviews. For Chapter 3, I consulted several newspapers (*London Times*, *Illustrated London News*) and periodicals (*Bentley's Miscellany*, *Actors by*

Daylight, *Macmillan's Magazine*, *The London Journal*, *Figaro in London*, *The Ladies Companion*, *Court Magazine and La Belle Assemblée*, and others) to see if women musicians were treated differently depending on the agenda and readership of the publication. In this context, Queen Victoria's journals are revealed as exceptional examples of criticism, because they have an identifiable female author appraising other women's performances; they are not for public consumption, but are nonetheless informative. In Chapter 4, the roles are reversed: Queen Victoria is no longer a private critic, but her musical activity becomes the object of public criticism. The same newspapers and serials that reviewed women musicians in turn consider the Queen's attendance of public performances. Because of her public position and her known love of music, her musical taste was a notable site of criticism and her patronage was equally scrutinized.

Method

Feminist theoretical approaches are reflected at several levels of my dissertation. Since the basic exploration is the relationship of a female patron with the female musicians she supported, this is a feminist approach at the most elemental level; a variation on the 'her-story' theme. Female relationships as they relate to music have only recently been investigated.[45] Despite several studies of female patrons and musicians, Queen Victoria is never mentioned as an important

[45] Jeanice Brooks, "Nadia Boulanger and the Salon of the Princess de Polignac," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46/3 (Fall 1993): 415-468 and Paula Gillett, "Entrepreneurial women musicians in Britain: from the 1790s to the early 1900s," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: managers, charlatans, and idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001): 198-220.

patron of musicians in general, let alone women musicians.[46] In this way an examination of the professional and personal relationships between Queen Victoria and women musicians will privilege women's relationships and legitimize them. Historically, women's friendships have often been "trivialized precisely because they do *not* reverberate on the public sphere or resonate within the realms of power, as the celebrated friendships between men have done."[47] By moving from private to public spaces my dissertation demonstrates the importance of those relationships cultivated in private and their effect on public activity.

Another layer of feminism in relation to women in music history is studying performance, one of the few musical careers allowed women until relatively recently, rather than composition, which has been dominated by men throughout Western music history.[48] In binaries such as mind/body, rational/emotional, create/recreate, public/private, composer/performer, the concept or principle on the left has come to be associated with 'male,' and value, while the one on the right typifies 'female' and is less valued. A feminist approach to subjects and sources can involve a challenge to these binaries. In privileging women performers and re-creators over the composer and creator,

---

[46] See Linda Whitesitt's "Women's support and encouragement of music and musicians," in *Women and Music: a history*, ed. Karin Pendle, 2d ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University, Press, 2001); Lubov Breit Keefer, *Music Angels: A Thousand Years of Patronage* (Baltimore: Keefer, 1976).

[47] Lorraine Code, *What can she know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 101, quoting Carolyn Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Norton, 1988), 100.

[48] For collections that examine performance from a feminist perspective see Susan Cook and Judy Tsou (eds) *Cecilia Reclaimed: feminist perspectives on women and music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (eds) *Embodied Voices: representing female vocality in Western culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

issues of the music and the body become valued, as the hierarchies of established binaries are overturned.[49] In addition to articles and scholarly books, I also use sources such as journals, memoirs, letters, and newspapers, which form the basis for several sections within chapters. These personal and journalistic writings are valuable data of a historical period and people.

In *What is a Woman?* author Toril Moi advocates the use of social theorist Pierre Bourdieu's writings on the sociology of culture for feminist studies.[50] Moi's theory of sex complements Bourdieu's ideas. Moi, however, broadens those ideas for use in feminist criticism. Bourdieu's essays focus on social power, but Moi locates Bourdieu's particular appeal for feminists in examining the "microtheory" of social power, a term first used by literary critic Terry Eagleton.[51] Microtheory makes no distinction between high or low forms and significant or insignificant matters; in this way all aspects of everyday life are valid and valued areas of analysis.[52] Since so much of women's activity focused on daily life and activities performed in the private sphere of the home, their history has often gone unexplored. This is true even for the unusual position of women musicians, who, although having a public existence, remain largely unremembered in music history. I examine the specific consequences of Queen Victoria's patronage of female musicians and how these social agents produced and negotiated several currencies of power.

---

[49] To frame this discussion of music and its effect on the body I will use Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: music, representation, and the history of the body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
[50] Toril Moi, *What is a Woman?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 266.
[51] Ibid., 268.
[52] Ibid.

Bourdieu's theory regarding capital provides one possible explanation for the level of power attained by women musicians and their precarious relationship with society in general. Power is a by-product of the accumulation of various forms of capital, and prominent women musicians were poised to acquire significant capital because of their positions in the public sphere and society's fascination with them. In past scholarship, women musicians' sex is studied as a liability to their careers. While their sex was often a limiting consideration in their professional lives, women musicians of the caliber examined in this study maintained successful careers. If their sex detracted from their success, then other factors must have compensated in order to account for their accomplishments. Bourdieu's forms of capital are a framework from which to examine ways women musicians navigated their tenuous social positions and conceptualize those forms of compensation. As an important agent in their careers, Queen Victoria was very much a part of their accumulation of capital.

For Bourdieu, education was a principal location of cultural capital. Gender and education as they relate to music have been explored by other scholars and does not highlight any relationship between Queen Victoria and women musicians; therefore, I have omitted this area from my study. [53] Following Bourdieu, however, there are additional aspects of power and capital that are more relevant to this study: cultural, social, symbolic, economic, and political. In moving from private to public spaces, women musicians created

---

[53] See Lucy Green, *Music, gender, education* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Deborah Rohr, "Chapter 4: Musical Education," in *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 62-85; Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

what Bourdieu would see as a crisis—a redefinition of experience that challenged everyday order.[54] In turn, their public presence allowed them to gain power in the form of various forms of capital. Capital—an accumulation of a desirable commodity that may be exchanged for or converted into another valued item—could be exchanged for acceptance by society, that is, for legitimization. The interest society had in their careers and lives, their cultural and symbolic capital, allowed them access to important people with whom to procure important relationships (social capital) that could legitimize their careers; as we will see, one of the most crucial of those relationships was with Queen Victoria.

In a capitalist society, the effect of the more recognizable and easily measured form of capital—economic—is undeniable. For a select number of women musicians, their financial wealth allowed them the opportunity to acquire additional desirable qualities such as a good reputation or prestige by capitalizing on the fame and attention that successfully performing in public brought them. Finally, their public presence located them as social agents challenging dominant power structures, and therefore gave them a political presence that also accrued capital.

Several different forms of capital can be at work at any time. Working alongside cultural, economic, social, and political capital is symbolic capital. Legitimacy is an action or practice that is dominant, but not recognized as such.[55] This legitimacy is a result of the acquisition of symbolic capital, which is

---

[54] Moi, *What is a Woman?*, 278.

[55] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Sage 1993), 70; quoted in Moi, *What is a Woman?*, 270. Legitimacy is achieved through the acquisition of capital and power.

"understood as economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate."[56] Women musicians' position in Victorian society was undervalued and went unrecognized for the power they possessed. By using Bourdieu's concept of capital to examine their position in society I recognize and legitimate their position. An 1836 article about Maria Malibran by Agnes E. Taylor highlights the ways in which Bourdieu's forms of capital could contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of a woman musician's career:

> As an actress, her name has been coupled with all that is great and good in the drama of this country:--as a singer, her name has been coupled with none other, for no one else ever was or ever could be placed on the same line. Her education in England, her speaking our language, and her being conversant with English music...gave her a claim upon the public of this country even before her successful *début* at Paris...Before I conclude, I must say a few words respecting Madame Malibran's private life, an acquaintance with which has been confined to a limited circle of friends. In all the duties of a wife and mother, in all kindly feelings of a friend, no one was better skilled than this incomparable woman.[57]

Malibran's cultural capital clearly derives from her musical talent, but beyond that she has symbolic capital in her association with England through her education, knowledge of the English language, and according to the author her attachment to one of the national theatres—factors that distinguished her from other less "domesticated" foreigners.[58] Valuable as these credentials were for foreign musicians, both they and her musical ability are directly linked to her musical

---

[56] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: essays on Art and Literature*, trans. and ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 75.
[57] Agnes E. Taylor, "Madame Malibran de Beriot," *Court Magazine and La Belle Assemblée* 9/5 (November 1836): 191, 194.
[58] Ibid., 191.

education and training and thus applicable to male and female musicians alike. In the final section of the article, however, Taylor addresses Malibran's private life, which is contingent on her role as wife and mother, and thus on the most traditional and explicitly gendered aspects of her life. Why was this necessary in an article otherwise devoted to musical and cultural accomplishments? Following Bourdieu and Moi, Malibran's entry into the public sphere—the source of the cultural and social capital that made her of interest at all—challenged the ideologically "natural" order of the proper Victorian woman to an extent that could threaten the acceptance of that capital; accordingly, by asserting that Malibran nevertheless subscribed to the accepted roles of wife, mother, and woman of "kindly feelings," Taylor's article serves to protect those implicitly threatening and threatened accomplishments. To the extent that this strategy succeeded, it also lent Malibran a degree of political capital, legitimizing her challenge to that ideology. In contrast to this example, the political, economic, symbolic and cultural capital of women in general was trivialized or undervalued. Bourdieu's concept of capital shows women musicians' position as significant social actors in the nineteenth century.

These methodological considerations allow a more precise explanation of the chapters that follow. After Chapter 1's outlining of the symbolic significance of Queen Victoria herself, the focus of Chapter 2 is primarily the economic capital of women musicians with respect to the State Concerts and other musical events at court. At the same time, the Queen's employment of these women musicians made their court appearances a signifier of symbolic and social capital.

Then, Queen Victoria becomes critic; her journal entries are used to complement Victorian press reviews in the subsequent chapter and divulge her reception of these prominent women. The cultural and symbolic capital of women musicians and Queen Victoria are the focus of Chapter 3. In this chapter I examine press reviews to see women musicians' reception in the Victorian press. Chapter 4 examines the political and social capital of this patronage relationship to the growing women's movement of the nineteenth century. At the same time examples of aberrant and ideal womanhood, Queen Victoria and certain women musicians influenced both sides of the argument. In a reversal of the discursive use of 'queen' explored in Chapter 3, Queen Victoria was likened to a prima donna in the press, and I investigate the implications of this association after discussing Queen Victoria and women musicians' positions to the mid-nineteenth century women's movement.

Chapter 1

Victoria: Sex, Nation, Class, and Music

Before undertaking the tasks outlined in the introduction, it is necessary to consider Victoria's origins and her symbolic significance, and their implications for the study of English women musicians. Queen Victoria embodied many personas to her people and her nation: Queen, royalty, woman, wife, mother, and, ironically, a figure embodying the triumph of the middle class. She was at once a site of identification and of contradiction. In this chapter I examine these various symbolic associations of Victoria in relation to the music and musicians she patronized. Of equal importance are considerations of sex,[1] nation, and class as they relate to the private nature of her court and the musicians she heard there. These issues frequently appear in Victoria's iconography—the images, either verbal, visual or historical, have become associated with Queen Victoria as a cultural icon. After unpacking these sometimes-contradictory images of Queen Victoria and relating them to her private musical patronage, I turn to a case study of the pianist Lucy Anderson in order to explore the scope of musical activity at Victoria's court and the role of women in court musical activity.

---

[1] In the nineteenth century, sex was considered a purely biological characteristic determined at conception. This set up the division of labour and activities as belonging to one sex in particular. Every thing a man or woman does is characterized by their sex. This biological determinism permeated a body's entire being; it was pervasive "a woman becomes a woman to her fingertips." Toril Moi, *What is a woman?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 12.

Queen Victoria: Sex, nation, and class

At the time of her birth, it seemed improbable that Princess Victoria would ever accede to the throne of England. Her uncles, George IV and William IV, were married and attempting to ensure their lineage. But as it became evident that both would die without legitimate heirs and that Victoria was next in line to the throne, her sex increasingly became a concern;[2] this represents one of the contradictions so integral to her persona. On one hand, her sex allowed for an opening up of the private/domestic life at court to the public.[3] Traditionally kings' political lives were the principal object of interest, but the accession of a queen made her domestic and private activities appropriate subjects of discussion. Victoria as a young queen was depicted as a gay and happy young woman: she attended balls, danced, and was educated in music and art; a well-bred, aristocratic young lady. In order to maintain her gendered roles her political career was known only among her ministers.[4] This shift caused by Victoria's sex necessitated a redefinition of power using a female figure.[5] With her private activities now open to the public and her political activities kept private, this reversal of a monarch's traditional role followed the prescribed gender ideology of the era. Her position meant that women, regardless of class, had a model of female power in Queen Victoria. Her presence as the highest political figure in the country gave strength to all of her female subjects, if only by implication.[6]

---

[2] Deidre Shearman, *The Image of Victoria: patronage, profits and patriotism* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1996), 25.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 292.
[5] Ibid., 25.
[6] Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: the woman, the monarchy and the people* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 120.

Her position as monarch was masculinizing and Queen Victoria was aware of the challenges her female predecessors faced as a result of their sex in a traditionally male role.[7] As such Queen Victoria maintained strict distinctions "between kingly and queenly duties and functions."[8] For example, when politics were discussed Queen Victoria's ladies were dismissed, since women had no part in politics. Victoria was the lone exception to this self-imposed segregation because of her position. Conversely, when alone with her ladies she enacted the role of queen consort, since they were in her service for companionship and unlike male servants were not part of political discussions. However, these kingly and queenly functions could blur. Toward her ladies, she assumed the kingly and fatherly roles of protector; she felt it was her duty to ensure their safety.[9] But the role of protector can also be motherly; this duality of role and meaning shows the inaccuracy of prescribed sex roles and the roles of gendered duties of queen regnant and queen consort. It also shows a deep commitment to bifurcation—and not just for femininity. The Queen regnant had to assume masculine roles and duties, while a Queen consort's function was to provide support for the King. Queen Victoria's acknowledgement of these gendered roles and their malleability became important in the construction of her political and national identities.

Since the establishment of the monarchy in England, kings used the symbolism of the lion on royal coats of arms to represent power and strength;

---

[7] Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: the problems of female rule in English history* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 154.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 155.

however, the image of the lion had to be adapted, for "the lions of England did not suddenly shed their manes upon the accession of a female ruler."[10] Upon her accession, then, Victoria embodied the British Lioness for her people, an image of prowess, befitting England's position as a world power.[11] Not only did this image confirm her strength, it also negotiated her sex. Queen Victoria's subjects, the first of a female monarch in more than a century, needed assurance that their nation would still be respected and protected with a woman as state representative. In contrast to the aggressive image of a lioness, Queen Victoria was also personified as a mother to the country, concerned for soldiers fighting for England. Both images existed alongside one another since an aggressive and powerful country caused conflicts with other nations that necessitated soldiers' deployment, who were then mothered by their Queen.

Queen Victoria's division of predetermined sex roles and the more malleably gendered roles of monarch and queen were also factors for her musical patronage. Music, as an art associated with the female sex, was an acceptable outlet for Queen Victoria's patronage as a member of royalty and as a woman. Since as a female monarch her private life became the focus of information distributed to her subjects, Queen Victoria's musical involvements became important gestures signifying her role as an aristocratic woman, as well as

---

[10] Beem, *The Lioness Roared*, 2.

[11] Charles Edward Beem's doctoral dissertation (*The Lioness Roared: the problems of female rule in British history* Ph.D. diss., Arizona, 2002) first feminized the British icon and related it to British female monarchs. The symbol of the British Lion permeates British culture. As early as 1712 John Bull, created by Dr. John Arbuthnot, was also known as the British Lion. Since its initial usage the image of the British Lion has been used to represent a vast range of British enterprises—from Britain's soldiers to an all star rugby team, the British Lions, that have toured the world since 1910—see Brigadier Kim Yadav, *British Lions and the Indian Tigers: Triumph of the Sepoy against the British Sword* (New Dehli: Manas Publications, 2004).

reigning monarch. As we will see in Chapter 4, her influence as queen made musical and theatrical spectacles fashionable again after King William IV's neglect; however, this left her personal patronage of particular theatres and concert halls open to criticism by journalists and those in musical professions.

Because of another element of Victoria's image, such criticism dealt not only—or sometimes, not even primarily—with gender identity, but with national identity, since England's monarchy had strong familial ties to Germany. As a political figurehead, Victoria became an icon for Britishness or Englishness. Despite her birth on British soil, this was a concern, as it had been for her Hanoverian predecessors. Since the time of King George I (formerly Georg the Elector of Hanover), who left Hanover for the British throne in 1714, the reigning monarch's display of Englishness had been of the utmost importance.[12] Subsequent monarchs' Britishness remained an issue, as German continued to be a dominant language at court.[13] Princess Victoria's nationality, and subsequent right to the British throne, was of such importance to her father, the Duke of Kent, that in the third trimester of his wife's pregnancy they left their home in Leiningen for England. The Duke of Kent was passionate about his child's birth taking place on English soil; in the event that his progeny's entitlement to the throne was contested, he felt that being born and raised in England would

---

[12] King George I never bothered to learn the language of those whom he ruled. His court spoke German; political business was conducted in German. He also never grew fond of his adopted country, choosing to spend over half his reign in his beloved Hanover.

[13] Queen Victoria's court was no exception. Queen Victoria was said to have spoken English with a thick German accent because with a German governess and a mother who was a German Princess she did not begin to speak English until after the age of three. (Thompson 1)

strengthen the claim.[14] Despite his fears, Victoria came to the throne with little opposition. Throughout her reign, Victoria increasingly became the embodiment of the nation through her actions and careful negotiation of various roles.[15] As Queen Victoria's actions were so closely watched and imitated, her musical patronage became a concern for those in the music profession. However, while seen as a representation of England in musical and other matters, Queen Victoria did not symbolize an adequate source of patronage for English musicians. Foreign musicians appearing at court largely outnumbered English musicians. This preference for foreign musicians was a sign of Queen Victoria's class, and also shows the advantages of belonging to the upper classes. Critics, theatre managers, and musicians condemned Queen Victoria's support of foreign musicians, but her position afforded her the privilege of not succumbing to their criticism. For a large number of English musicians, Queen Victoria was a disappointing representation of a patron of English musicians, despite her fondness of music in general. The excesses of royalty permitted such a cavalier attitude toward English musicians, who were also her subjects.

This leads to a final iconographic negotiation: class. On the surface the matter appears straightforward. In the nineteenth century, class standing was far from fixed, and the identification of individuals with a particular class or its culture cannot be assumed; nonetheless, there can have been little room for doubt

---

[14] Lynne Vallone, *Becoming Victoria* (New Haven, CT: Columbia University Press, 2001), 2-3. The Duke of Kent would die before Princess Victoria was two years old, and while his obsession regarding her birthplace may have appeared odd at the time, it served her well when she came to the throne.

[15] Shearman, *Image of Victoria*, 25.

as to the Queen's position as the very apex of the class hierarchy.[16] But just as Queen Victoria became associated with national symbols in order to convey ideals to her subjects, her social class was also a pliable image, capable of being read in multiple ways in order to connect with her subjects of varying classes. Although a member of royalty, Victoria came to be known as the beloved 'Middle class Queen.'[17] Here the Queen's sex again played a crucial role; although other European rulers (e.g. Louis Philippe in France and Franz Joseph in Austria) also developed bourgeois images, the effect played out very differently for Victoria. Her devotion to her husband and children lent an air of morality and domesticity to her court that had been absent from those of her adulterous male predecessors: "[a]djectives such as 'simple', 'modest', 'innocent', 'lovely', commonly applied to Victoria as evidence of her appropriate placement on the throne, would not have been used if she had been a man."[18] Such terms were also used as stereotypes for middle class wives and mothers. These aspirations were indeed already feminine ideals; once associated with Queen Victoria they were that much more desired. Her sense or morality and duty were examples for middle class homemakers, who ruled over the domestic space of the home.

The larger topics of sex, nation and class were not one dimensional. They were variable and contested in the Victorian era and continue to be in scholarship today. Musical practices were part of this variability and contestation. Queen

---

[16] For discussions of class structure see Geoffrey Crossick, "Classes and the Masses in Victorian England," *History Today* 37/3 (March 1987): 29-35, and William Weber, "The Muddle of the Middle Classes," *19th Century* Music 3/2 (1979): 175-185.
[17] Thompson, *Queen Victoria: The Woman, The Monarchy, and The People*, 42 and Homans, *Royal Representations*, xxii, 2,5.
[18] Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, 46.

Victoria's musical activity could be used by those observing her reign in her time, or by scholars now, to either reflect or challenge sex roles, national identity or class divisions. Similarly, both her private and public patronage were equally relevant as evidence for the extremes found in the general categories of sex (masculine and feminine roles), nation (British and foreign) and class (upper, middle and lower). Sex and class, and their variability, were located in her private patronage. At her court, music's prominence could be explained away as domestic music relegated to the feminine sphere. However, her musical involvements also enhanced the function of a monarch with all the duties and traditions associated with the position, displaying wealth and benevolence toward musicians. In terms of national identity, Queen Victoria was expected to support English musicians as monarch, but upper classes preferred foreign musicians. Regardless of her patronage choices, Queen Victoria would inevitably upset the delicate balance of her perceived persona and the various conventions ascribed to the monarchy, Victorian womanhood, class distinctions and national identity.

Queen Victoria and music: An overview

Throughout the nineteenth century, music was a central component of home life of both the middle and upper classes, and Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, however elegant and extravagant, were still the Queen's primary living and domestic spaces. Music was central to the Queen's court. Her attendance at balls, levees, soirées, State and miscellaneous concerts, and her public visits to the opera and symphonic concerts peppered daily life at court

from Victoria's early reign, making her court the centre of society.[19] In any given week, the majority of evenings would consist of musical activity, either in the privacy of her home or publicly at the opera. The Queen's musical ability could often be heard in the Palace. She would sing or play the piano in a private setting, much like the middle class wives and mothers who saw her as an exemplar of womanly perfection. Because of her privileged upbringing Victoria had adequate leisure time to become a competent amateur and the financial means to secure famous teachers. Both she and Albert were so confident in their abilities that they had no qualms about performing before professional musicians such as Felix Mendelssohn or the conductor Michael Costa.[20]

As a proper lady, however, Victoria did not have professional musical aspirations; her music-making was primarily for her own entertainment and for that of her immediate social circle at court. At the same time, the Queen demonstrated her aristocratic social standing, or at least her wealth, by hiring the most fashionable musicians to entertain her household and court; the fees she paid were certainly beyond the modest drawing room entertainments of the middle class. At her request, the most popular and prominent musicians of the era came to entertain her in many different forms: private concerts, State Concerts, and soirées. All musical entertainment at court received the Queen's close attention, and her musical influence was evident in all musical activity at court.

---

[19] A. Ponsonby, *Queen Victoria* (London: Duckworth, 1933), 10-11. This frenzied amount of musical activity continued until Prince Albert's death in 1861.

[20] Michael Budds, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1987), 146.

The middle and upper class tastes evident in the Queen's musical preferences manifested themselves in several areas of the household's music. In the way middle class friends would perform for each other in an intimate setting, the Queen's Ladies-in-waiting would often entertain their sovereign, and she them, in the evenings. Although the position of Lady-in-waiting was one of service, they were not servants. Ladies-in-waiting were often chosen from well-placed, aristocratic families, so that Victoria and her ladies would have shared experiences. The chief duty of a Lady-in-waiting consisted of acting as a royal companion to the Queen, but she was also expected to be "an advisor, a woman of influence, a probable preserver or improver of *national morals*."[21] Because of their proximity to the Queen, their discretion was of paramount importance. Ladies-in-waiting could not keep a journal for the potential gossip recorded on its pages.[22] Despite these duties and considerations, Queen Victoria's fondness for many of her ladies approached friendship.

For Ladies-in-waiting, sight-reading skills in both piano and singing were as desirable as knowledge of German and French, writing, and riding skills—the basic requirements for a lady-in-waiting.[23] Their musical skills were particularly valuable for the frequent and informal musical evenings, which conformed to the middle class atmosphere perceived by the public. Queen Victoria so enjoyed these evenings that they were often described at length in her youthful journals, before her marriage. Such informal gatherings took place after dinner and

---

[21] Elizabeth Longford, ed., *Louisa: Lady in Waiting* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1979), 7. The emphasis on national morals is Longford's.
[22] Ibid., 10.
[23] Lady Marie Mallett, *Life with QueenVictoria; Marie Mallet's Letters from Court, 1887-1901*, ed. Victor Mallet (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), 4.

included her mother, the Duchess of Kent, and those ladies who were currently in waiting. In June of 1838, early in her reign, Queen Victoria recorded the activity of one such evening in her journal:

> [a]fter dinner Lady Mary Paget sang a very pretty little song from the Domino Noir,[24] I then sang the Duo from Norma[25] beginning at 'Mira o Norma' with Lady Mary (who had never sung the 2nd before) who sung it beautifully. She then sang 'Casta Diva' in the same key Grisi sings it in, beautifully; the higher she goes the finer her voice is; she can go up to D!!![26]

It is unclear who accompanied; it may have been one of the other Ladies-in-waiting or perhaps Victoria's piano teacher, Lucy Anderson, or Victoria herself. Evenings such as these were commonplace, a regular court occurrence. Queen Victoria's enthusiasm for them leaps off the page of her journal.

Victoria was fortunate that her eventual husband loved music as much as she did. Prince Albert had also studied music as part of his education, and was an accomplished organist and pianist. He had even tried his hand at composing, and some of his compositions on sacred texts were heard during the court's religious services. Prince Albert's musical accomplishments were among the many attributes that did not appeal to the British people upon his betrothal to their Queen; in particular, his enemies labelled him "the operatic tenor": foreign and musical, he represented a threat to Britishness.[27] Music was a fine

---

[24] Set in Spain, *Domino Noir* was a comic opera in three acts composed by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber.
[25] *Norma*, a tragic opera in two acts, was composed by Vicenzo Bellini.
[26] RA VIC/QVJ/1838: 14 June.
[27] Margaret Drabble, *For Queen and Country: Britain in the Victorian Age* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 110.

accomplishment for women, but it was just that: effeminizing. Not only was Albert a foreigner, but also an effeminized one in numerous ways: his preference for the arts, his subordination to his wife in station and title, and the fact that she proposed to him, because she was a ruling monarch.

After their marriage, music continued to be a part of Queen Victoria's and Prince Albert's daily lives. Prince Albert took part in the formerly 'women only' impromptu musical evenings. He could be found accompanying the Queen at the piano or organ. Because of the intimate nature of their relationship and their musical interest, there were other times when he and Victoria could indulge in one of their favourite pastimes: "Played on the piano with Albert, after breakfast, & then walked out with him and Charles."[28] Such music-making continued throughout their marriage: "[a]fter reading… we [Queen Victoria and Prince Albert] played <u>together</u> on the piano, with LY Douro on the harp, & played the Overtures to 'Egmont' & 'Prometheus,' specially arranged for the 3 performers & it [sic] had a most beautiful effect."[29]

Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert only seemed to increase the amount of musical activity at court, despite the difference in their musical preferences: his for older music of the masters and hers for opera and dance music.[30] This difference has roots in both national tendencies and gender roles.

---

[28] RA VIC/QVJ/1840: 15 June. The Charles in question is most likely Queen Victoria's half-brother, Prince Charles of Leiningen, since he was family and above title. Queen Victoria makes reference to other men named Charles, but they are always referred to by title: the diarist Charles Greville is Mr. C. Greville and Charles Canning is referred to as Lord Canning.

[29] RA VIC/QVJ/1844: 15 January. The Royal couple was at Claremont in Esher on this day, going to Windsor the following day. Claremont, a modest mansion, could not accommodate the large-scale concerts associated with Buckingham Palace. While staying there, Victoria and Albert had to rely on their own musical resources for their entertainment.

[30] Budds, *Music*, 62.

Germany's long association with the musically "serious" was basic to the emerging musical canon, while England had few composers of great repute. Still, Victoria's preferences reflected more typically English taste, although this did not necessarily benefit the musicians of her native country, since most opera composers and singers were foreign. The serious/popular distinction, of course, also followed the conventional gender associations of the time, and is consistent with contemporary accounts of the royal couple's personalities: Prince Albert was known for his serious and distant manner; while Queen Victoria was characterized as jolly and light-hearted. Regardless of personal taste, however, each attended the other's preferred entertainment.

Despite what has been described by Henry Raynor, Cyril Ehrlich and Deborah Rohr as a decline in court patronage in continental Europe and especially England, Queen Victoria's court became an amalgamation of older and newer forms of patronage.[31] In keeping with older forms of court patronage, she kept musicians in permanent employment, including the twenty-three members of the Queen's Band, an orchestra that performed at the Queen's command for numerous events; however, she also reduced the number of musical positions she supported.[32] As was customary in the nineteenth century the Queen's Band was

---

[31] With political turmoil throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, music became less of a concern for the smaller European courts. The Napoleonic era was the final blow for the previous levels of court patronage. (Keefer, *Music Angels*, 133) Throughout this period more musicians were seeking positions outside the court patronage system and attempting to survive as freelance musicians. [Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 23.] For the decline in patronage specifically discussing the English courts see: Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, 16-17, 73; Rohr, *A Profession of Artisans*, 1983, 78-86; Henry Raynor, *Music and Society since 1815* (London: Barry & Jenkins, 1976), 1.

[32] Norman Hyde, *Four Faces of English Music* (West Sussex: Churchman Publishing Ltd., 1985), 55. The court orchestra was revived after Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert, which again shows his Germanic musical influence in by rejuvenating instrumental music.

an all male band, since it was thought inappropriate for ladies to play orchestral instruments. The band could accompany the dancing at balls, if another orchestra had not been engaged; they assisted at concerts, if required, and supplied music for ceremonial occasions, such as serenading the Queen from underneath her window on her birthday, and frequently performing after dinner. Another acknowledgement of older forms of patronage was the position of Master of the Queen's Music, who oversaw all musical activity at court. His duties included paying and securing musicians for the State Concerts, conducting the Queen's Band on occasion, surveying music for the Royal Chapel; of course all this was under the Queen's guidance, and all his choices were subject to her approval.

Newer forms of patronage included the Queen's attendance of public musical performances. Although carried out by her predecessors, it was still a novelty to be in such close proximity to royalty in a public setting. Queen Victoria's frequent public attendance of such events made her appear more natural and available to her subjects.[33]

The Queen's patronage had public and private aspects that were not always clearly delineated, because almost everything the Queen did was publicized or made public. Although Queen Victoria's court sponsored a great deal of musical activity, the nature of this activity was not completely private. State and miscellaneous concerts were listed in daily newspapers to record the Queen's activities. These performances also relied on musicians who made their careers in public. It was at the opera that the Queen first heard nearly all of her

---

[33] Richard W. Schoch, *Queen Victoria and the theatre of her age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), xiii.

future State Concert performers and the most popular singers of her time. She would often call them to her box during intermission, and from there the stage was set for their invitation to her court. Operatic performers did not acquire an invitation to court without the Queen's first hearing them publicly.[34] The amount of musical activity organized and attended by the Queen demonstrates a deep love of music that was a significant part of her education.

The Queen continued her early musical education by hiring prominent musicians who instructed her in piano and voice. Her principle instructors were the Italian tenor, Luigi Lablache (1794-1853), for singing and the English pianist, Lucy Anderson, for piano lessons both of whom were hired before Victoria became Queen. Interesting for this study is the gender and nationality of both of these musicians. Her piano teacher was a woman of English heritage, yet her singing teacher was a foreign man. Foreign musicians were often presumed to be better educated and have better manners, but at the same time, Victoria as heir to the throne and Queen of England was expected to support her countrymen and women.[35] There were certainly prominent English women singers of adequate standing, but they were overlooked for the foreign Signor Lablache.[36]

Princess Victoria may have engineered Lablache's position as her singing teacher. In 1835, a year before she started lessons she was already thinking of her teacher: "I am to learn to sing next year. Mamma promised I should; and I hope

---

[34] Budds, *Music*, 570.

[35] See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in England since the Eighteenth Century: a social history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 16, and Debra Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, 49.

[36] In the 1830s there were a number of English and foreign women singers working in London. Possible candidates were the young English sopranos Emma Romer or Clara Novello. They were close to Queen Victoria in age and were rising opera stars. Potential foreign singers may have been, but were not limited to Giulia Grisi, Pauline Viardot, and Giuditta Pasta.

to learn of Lablache. What a delightful master he would be to learn of!"[37] Princess Victoria's wish to have Lablache as her instructor came true, and as the start date for her singing lessons drew closer she recorded her excitement to begin lessons with a singer that was familiar to her and whom she admired.[38] Queen Victoria's psychological dependence upon men—from Lord Melbourne, Prince Albert, John Brown and Prime Minister Disraeli—is well documented and has been explained as a result of her father's early death and her position in a man's world.[39] Lablache certainly fit the bill as yet another of Victoria's father figures. Nearing the end of his career, his voice was still strong, but his physical appearance was beginning to deteriorate. Lablache was considered so innocuous that their lessons went unchaperoned.[40] Lablache became her teacher in 1836, one year before she became queen. Prior to her lessons with Lablache, John Bernard Sale an Englishman from Windsor had been her first musical instructor, teaching her keyboard skills and training her voice."[41] Sale would not, however, have had the allure of exoticism and fame of the Italian Lablache. While Sale began Princess Victoria's musical studies, it was Lablache who molded her as a singer. Their lessons began in 1836 and continued well into her reign; Lablache also continued to come to the palace after Victoria's marriage to Albert so he could sing with both of them.

It is not clear when Sale lost his role as Princess Victoria's piano instructor to Lucy Anderson, but this change also occurred before her accession in

---

[37] RA VIC/QVJ/1835: 11 September.
[38] RA VIC/QVJ/1836: 19 April.
[39] Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, 65.
[40] George Rowell, *Queen Victoria goes to the Theatre* (London: P. Elek, 1978), 14.
[41] Budds, *Music*, 91.

1837.[42] Princess Victoria or someone in her household chose Anderson as her piano instructor, which balanced her preference for Lablache as her singing instructor. Lucy Anderson's position is largely unchronicled in the history of music at Queen Victoria's court. During her lifetime she was a popular performer at the concerts of the Philharmonic Society and one of the first women to regularly perform there, but she has the additional distinction of serving as the Queen's private pianist. Her duties included piano instruction to the Queen and her children, accompanying various singers and instrumentalists on command, and performing as a soloist if desired by the Royal Family.[43] This was indeed a position of servitude; she could be called upon at any time to perform her duty. But this position also came with great rewards. As a well-respected employee of the court, Anderson was permitted to mention her title as 'Pianiste to the Queen' and her patron's name in public concert advertisements and programmes.[44] She was also named to the civil list pensions between 1840 and 1841 for her service as "teacher of music to Her Majesty" and granted £100, the same amount as the man she replaced, English singing teacher to Her Majesty J. B. Sale.[45] Given the precarious nature of women's place in public performance, which I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 3, the security of Anderson's court position was one that all musicians, regardless of gender, desired. Queen Victoria's endorsement was a boost to an already sound career.

---

[42] W. H. Hust, "Lucy Anderson," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 22 June 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca>. Anderson had been presented at the Court of King William IV and Queen Adelaide by George Smart, Master of the King's Music, in 1830 and acquired the position of piano instructor to Queen Adelaide and Princess Victoria. Her post continued in the new reign of Queen Victoria.

[43] Budds, *Music*, 97.

[44] Ibid., 105.

[45] "Parliamentary Papers," *Times* (London), Monday February 28, 1842, p. 4, Issue 17918; col. A.

Anderson's importance to court musical activity may have gone unnoticed in music history because she was unable to establish an international career aside from her performances at Queen Victoria's court and the Philharmonic concerts. No evidence has been found that she performed in continental Europe, which was a battleground for all virtuosos.[46] Perhaps her role as piano teacher is an additional reason for her neglect, since many women taught piano lessons without any great aspirations for fame and fortune, but primarily as a means of subsistence. As a locally known and respected performer, Anderson's reputation remains unknown outside her country, likely because of her servitude to Queen Victoria's court. Just as there were great advantages, there could equally be limitations to court favouritism.

Unlike Anderson, who was a permanent fixture at court, other professional female musicians came and went with the musical seasons. They were invited to perform for State Concerts, drawing rooms, private soirées, and levees. The majority of these performers were more like casual employees, invited at the Queen's whim, although the Queen's favourites received regular, almost standing invitations. The invitation of those that were less favoured depended upon their public reception at the opera houses or concert halls, and the Queen's desire to hear them.[47] This collection of diverse musicians not only shows the Queen's musical interests, but the musicians appearing at her court were also among the most famous in the world, a who's who of nineteenth

---

[46] Budds, *Music*, 99.

[47] Among the more popular performers during this time period included Giulia Grisi, Jenny Lind, Adelina Patti, Pauline Viardot-Garcia, and Clara Novello, in addition to more obscure singers such as Catharine Hayes English soprano, Sofia Cruvelli German prima donna, Erminia Frezzolini and Angidina Bosio, both Italian sopranos.

century music. The caliber of women performers and their frequency of court appearances were unequalled in public concerts and perhaps in all of Europe. As such, excellence in women's musical performance was among the achievements of the Queen's musical patronage.

Queen Victoria's reputation as a music patron and her importance as monarch made her court a coveted performance venue, one that not every performer could access. For women musicians to perform in this prestigious space was a particularly advantageous opportunity. The acknowledgement of their ability conferred by the Queen's invitation elevated their public drawing power and reputation. "Acceptance by a high-born woman [was] the only signal that society valued sufficiently to suspend its habitual revulsion, suspicion and unease about the performers;" and in England no woman was higher-born than the Queen.[48] Not only did women perform at court, but as soloists they were given equal place with male musicians. This was not unusual for singers, but for instrumentalists it was unique.

Like Lucy Anderson's position, occasional performances brought advantages. Performing at Queen Victoria's court, even only sporadically, lent credibility to performers that could not always be gained by public performance alone. Although the fee they were given for performing at court was far less than that received for public performances, it was still more than most working-class men earned in a month. The social benefits to an appearance at court far

---

[48] Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian London* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 71.

outweighed the financial ones; these issues will be examined more closely with respect to the State Concerts in Chapter 2.

There could, however, be disadvantages to repeated appearances at court. Queen Victoria could expect, rather than request, an appearance at court concerts, depending on a performer's popularity.[49] This could be quite bothersome if a performer were abroad, as a surviving instance involving English soprano Clara Novello proves. In McKenzie-Grieve's biography of Clara Novello, she states that Novello returned to England from Italy in 1852 for her first State Concert. Novello brought her maid and husband with her at a significant financial loss, since she was not remunerated for travel expenses and the payment she received would provide little compensation for her efforts.[50] Whether the Queen acknowledged her personal and financial sacrifice is unknown. Nevertheless, Novello's return at the Queen's command points to both the performer and patron's power and prestige. From Novello's perspective, she could have declined the invitation to court, but that would have done nothing to increase her social and cultural capital at a time when the attention of the Queen's invitation was particularly valuable to her career. If she had not accepted her request, Queen Victoria might have been less likely to invite her again because of her limited availability or she may have lost interest in Novello as a performer. From Queen Victoria's perspective, her desire to include Clara Novello after a significant hiatus in her performing career speaks to Novello's reputation as a

---

[49] Budds, *Music*, 488.

[50] Averil McKenzie-Grieve, *Clara Novello 1818-1908* (London: Bles, 1955), 229-30. Clara Novello lived in Italy for a number of years with her husband, Count Gigliucci. She frequently returned to England at Queen Victoria's request to sing at her State Concerts. Not all singers were as accommodating.

performer. For all the expense and personal sacrifice Novello's appearance before the Queen brought her, it kept her in the Queen's good graces, and she was able to add the court performance to her résumé. Although unlike Lucy Anderson, Clara Novello was not expected always to be available for performances, Novello's loyalty to Queen Victoria brought rewards that afforded other means of compensation in the acquisition of social and symbolic capital.

There was also more to these women's accomplishments at court than musical activity. Queen Victoria's command performances were a gathering of the era's most popular musicians; there could be as many as six or seven principal artists at her concerts, common practice for nineteenth century concerts. This collection of professionals generated an excellent opportunity for networking and making contacts for other musical activities. With respect to the women who performed there, significant professional relationships were formed and solidified by court appearances. Lucy Anderson, Clara Novello, Pauline Viardot, and other respected women pianists and vocalists frequently performed on the same programme, both at Buckingham Palace and at each other's public benefit concerts. Performing at the Queen's court, then, carried the additional benefit of cultivating contacts to further their public careers as indicated in memoirs of various prominent musicians.[51] These musicians' networking is an example of an accumulation of Bourdieu's concept of social capital—significant relationships

---

[51] Ibid., 37, 229, 251; Bertold Litzmann, ed., *Clara Schumann: An Artist's Life, based on material found in diaries and letters* trans, Grace E. Hadow, vol. 2 (New York: Vienna House, 1972), 134, 249.

with prominent people.[52] The more important and famous connections an individual musician had the easier it would be to gain additional forms of capital. With both the audience and performers consisting of influential people, Queen Victoria's court was an important space for musicians to make contacts, although there is no indication she thought of her court entertainments from the perspective of musicians. After meeting at court, it would have been easier to ask a fellow musician to perform at a benefit concert.[53] If women musicians had met elsewhere, performances at Queen Victoria's court were a setting in which to rekindle friendships formed abroad on concert tours or at public performances in London. Since many of these women only infrequently performed together on public stages, the private nature of court performances allowed them the opportunity to hear one another and further their careers in forging beneficial social relationships.

Queen Victoria's court was also a place where foreign and English musicians met in an atmosphere less competitive than that of the public stage. Since performers had already received an invitation to court, they were not competing for a more coveted spot. An imbalance of foreign musicians was heard for several years following the Queen's accession. It was well after her marriage to Prince Albert that English soloists, aside from the ever-exemplary Lucy Anderson, were invited to court.[54] Journalists and musicians noted

---

[52] Terry Lovell, "Bourdieu, class and gender: 'The return of the living dead'?" in *Feminism After Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 57.
[53] Mackenzie-Grieve, *Clara Novello*, 37. Clara Novello sang at Lucy Anderson's concert alongside Grisi and Malibran.
[54] According to Michael Budds, English singers were not invited to court until Louisa Pyne's invitation in 1851 (Budds, *Music*, 502). Once an Englishwomen broke through the court's nation

Victoria's fondness for foreign musicians both in her private and public patronage, and took her to task for her preferences in the dailies and journals. I will pick up this thread in Chapter 4, when I discuss Victoria's patronage in the context of social activity.

The Queen's love of opera, as made clear by her journal and public attendance, had much to do with the relative equality of male and female musicians in the more aristocratic musical performances at court. Undoubtedly, if her favourite genre had been the symphony there would have been few, if any, women performing at court, because of the gendered nature of orchestras at that time. Her preference for opera ultimately facilitated women musicians' initiatives to become more respected by society. From the 1830s to the 1860s the Queen's fondness for prima donnas and other respectable female virtuosos nurtured a public acceptance previously unavailable to women musicians. With their sovereign's positive reception, it became increasingly difficult for society to dismiss them as improper.[55] Although she was in a different category herself, Queen Victoria's reign was also a model for women musicians in this respect, in that she held a public profession that challenged conventional wisdom about women's proper sphere on the grandest scale.

---

barrier, however, Englishmen and women became more frequent performers alongside foreign musicians.

[55] Foreign virtuosos like Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti were so welcomed in England that they chose to live there; others like Clara Schumann and Giulietta Grisi, while not permanent residents, made extensive tours of the country long after their well-paying commitments were fulfilled. English musicians had a more difficult time casting off the myth of ill repute long attributed to actresses, singers, and public performers, yet Victoria attended their public concerts and eventually invited them to her court. Foreign virtuosos, both male and female, first had to achieve success in their own country, while the number of English musicians trying to succeed in England far outnumbered the amount of positions available, and perhaps already occupied by foreign musicians.

While the Queen's musical involvement and patronage may appear to be an insignificant element relative to other areas of her reign, it was of great importance to many. Most significantly, it affected musicians of all genders and nationalities, as Queen Victoria was seen as an important patron. This is especially true given Victoria's reputation as a connoisseur of the fine arts, unlike her immediate predecessors. Not only was she a prestigious patron, she was also a practicing amateur musician.

Both the aristocracy and the middle class, who increasingly supported music and musicians, looked to Queen Victoria's patronage as an example.[56] According to contemporary records, at least, whatever the Queen fancied was taken up by the upper classes as their ideal.[57] The upper classes saw her as an active and involved patron, and perhaps modelled their modest evenings of hiring small ensembles or more famous soloists to entertain their guests after Queen Victoria's patronage. Such evenings could be likened to her State Concerts, but on a much less grand scale. Aristocratic classes also saw Queen Victoria's public support of opera and theatre as something to be emulated for social gains. Interestingly, the middle classes also looked to the Queen as a model of taste. As the growing middle classes began to show their support of music by concert attendance, Victoria was just settling into her role as Queen.[58] This social class was exercising its newly acquired ability to experience the finer things, while a

---

[56] Budds, *Music*, 4.

[57] Ibid; "Home and Court Life of Queen Victoria" *Woman at Home* 4/21 (January 1896): 325. The perception of Queen Victoria's musical taste influencing nineteenth century existed during her reign and continues today.

[58] William Weber, "Muddle of the Middle Classes," *19th Century Music* 3/2 (November 1979): 175. See also Diane Sachko-MacLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Classes: money and the making of cultural identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20, 249.

young Queen was supporting an accomplishment that she enjoyed. That the middle class adopted the Queen as one of their own suggests that they may have looked to her for guidance in a shared interest. That the Queen engaged in domestic singing with her ladies also served as an example for the middle classes, as owning a piano and providing lessons for one's children was the new fashion in which middle class families could show their social standing.[59] However, it is unclear which way the influence went—whether the Queen's musical activity was presented to the public in order to appeal to the middle class or the middle class adapted their musical taste to be associated with the Queen. Regardless, Queen Victoria's musical pursuits were of importance to her people.

While the Queen acted as an example of musical patronage for many of her subjects, each class took away the elements most appropriate to their station. The middle classes looked more to the Queen's domestic music-making for their model. The Queen's fondness for singing drawing-room ballads to the accompaniment of Ladies-in-waiting potentially struck a chord with the middle classes, who could afford a piano and lessons, but did not necessarily have the financial means to hire musicians for entertainment. The upper classes saw her patronage of concert series, opera and her private musical evenings as something to emulate in terms of displaying wealth and taste.

---

[59] Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11 and A. V. Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician 1788-1888* (Clarendon Press, 1992), 63.

Conclusion

Queen Victoria was perceived as a respectable, moral and thoughtful woman. Her opinions mattered to her people. The Victorian press reported her comings and goings, and who appeared before her court. In this way the sex and nationality of musicians appearing at her court are telling signifiers of musicians' status and struggle for us today. While the Queen may not have spoken publicly about the growing debate about the rights of women and the value of nationality at the time, her example as a patron who allowed female musicians, foreign or English, a prominent place within her court sent a message to her people that fine music-making was more important than the limiting qualifiers of gender and nation. Her "royal seal of approval, which put women on the inside track to society, continued to be a matter of supreme importance throughout Queen Victoria's reign;"[60] regardless of whether her approval concerned the presentation of society women or the endorsement of women musicians, Queen Victoria's acceptance was paramount to legitimization.

[60] Perkin, *Victorian Women*, 99.

Chapter 2

Private Performances, Public Agency: Women Musicians and the economy of Court Performances

This chapter considers not only Queen Victoria's private patronage, but also the business aspect of hiring musicians for her court. Due to the circumstances under which women musicians lived, the material aspects of this support were crucial. For most musicians, making a passable living was a constant concern and effort, and women musicians were especially troubled, financially as well as socially. Women musicians' income was important. For a single woman musician, income from music was often her only financial support; for those who, like many women musicians, married musicians, their earnings were as important as their husbands.[1] For popular performers money was less problematic, but for the unknown musician, making ends meet was as difficult as for the lower classes. As in many professions, women musicians were generally paid less than men for their work. Exceptions to this were those first-rate prima donnas, virtuosos and actresses whose earnings could exceed men's salaries. In addition to financial woes, musicians' social rank was considerably less than that of their patrons. Opportunities to climb social and financial ladders, such as invitations to court, were therefore not taken lightly.

The pressing nature of women musicians' financial concerns has led me to examine the context and economics of their palace performances. Significant

---

[1] Deborah Rohr, "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839-1866," *Journal of Musicological Research* 18(1999): 15-16.

economic capital only came after women musicians had accumulated a considerable amount of cultural and symbolic capital; after struggling to make a prominent place for themselves in public concerts and opera houses, they began to reap financial rewards. In addition to the rewards of symbolic and cultural capital that performing at Queen Victoria's court provided for women musicians, the economics of court performances verify women musicians' importance in court musical activities, and their economic, cultural and symbolic dominance of the most prestigious musical event at court: the State Concert. I will discuss the phenomenon of the State Concert in greater detail below.

There were several opportunities open to women musicians for their performances at court, all of which held different associations. Women made up over half the number of performers at Queen Victoria's State Concerts. The high social standing of guests and the celebrity of performers made those concerts an important social space for musicians and guests alike. For guests, attending Queen Victoria's concerts and hearing the most prominent performers of the time was a sign of their cultural and social capital. For musicians, it was an opportunity to acquire social, economic, and cultural capital in performing before an elite audience. But State Concerts were only one aspect of women's musical contribution to court music. Instrumentalists appeared at various evening concerts, or at more informal performances before the Queen and Prince Consort. Here, there is a decrease in the presence of female musicians, most likely because of the taboo against female orchestral players and a predominance of foreign male musicians. However, it is noteworthy that Lucy Anderson, the 'Pianiste to the

Queen,' often performed on such occasions. Her presence, while often relegated to the subservient role of accompanist, indicates that women were not entirely excluded from such musical evenings when their talent or post merited inclusion. Anderson would also perform the occasional solo upon command, showing her interpretive talents. Her gender was not the reason for her court position, rather it was her skill in general. Such evenings resembled the aristocratic practice of hiring professional musicians for salon performances. But was Queen Victoria's court a royal salon?

Salon, Concert Hall or Private Home

Queen Victoria's court remains an ambiguous space, situated between the categories of public and private performance. Although they were not public in the sense of open attendance or exacting an admission charge, State and miscellaneous concerts were still reported in the daily papers, albeit in the very dry 'Court Circular' column, which essentially listed performers and the performance's musical selections. Nor was Queen Victoria's court an aristocratic salon that sought to popularize a particular composer or group of performers. Over her sixty-three-year reign, Queen Victoria's music rooms heard performances from the very popular and famous, as well as the nineteenth-century equivalent of the 'one-hit-wonder'—performers who attracted the Queen's attention, but failed to hold it giving a single performance in the Royal

household but not meriting a second invitation. There was, however, a core of performers who returned frequently, known as the Queen's favourites.[2]

At the same time, the State and miscellaneous concerts shared many similarities with aristocratic salons, including elaborately printed, gilded programs and an elite audience. The most significant similarity, however, was the involvement of women as patrons. Two authors have recently studied the prestige and power an aristocratic salon could bring to women patrons and musicians. Jeanice Brooks describes the musical relationship between female musicians and their patron in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[3] Although she writes about the Princess de Polignac and her support of Nadia Boulanger, she notes connections between female patrons and female musicians that will prove useful in relation to Victoria.

The salon was one of the final vestiges of aristocratic support. With the rise of middle class patrons beginning in the eighteenth century and saturating the nineteenth century music market, the old regime of aristocratic patronage had been steadily declining. There were, however, a few lingering examples of benevolent support from the leisured classes, and these examples challenge predominant habits of categorizing musical activities. In the introduction to her

---

[2] The uncontested favourite at the beginning of Victoria's reign was Giulia Grisi, who, the Queen gushed in her diaries, would never be replaced. However, Jenny Lind's debut in 1847, as Grisi's voice was in steady decline, usurped Grisi's hold on the Queen's favour. Among the Queen's final favourites, after the time period of this study, was Canadian soprano Emma Albani. The Queen also had male singers among her favourites: Luigi Lablache, Mario, and the de Reske brothers, but they did not receive the same attention in the Queen's journals. In journal entries I read Queen Victoria merely listed the names of male singers and did not discuss their appearances and performances at length. For a complete list of singers and instrumentalists who performed at Queen Victoria's court see Michael Budds, *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1987), 898-920. Budds lists their dates, nationality, and, where possible, the source confirming these facts and their court performance.

[3] Jeanice Brooks, "Nadia Boulanger and the Salon of the Princess de Polignac," *JAMS* 46/3 (1993): 415-68.

article, Brooks discusses the gendered nature of salons and their negotiation of public and private space:

> salons and their music have often suffered from the application of a critical dichotomy that separates music written or performed for a private audience from that consumed by the public. In this formulation, the categories of public and private are construed as mutually exclusive and all-embracing; a given piece of music or musical performance belongs to one or the other and no third possibility is offered. The label "private music" carries with it connotations of intimacy, domesticity, and amateurism; music of this kind is usually cultivated in an environment inhabited or controlled by women as well as or instead of men. "Public music" is professional, large-scale, and extrovert, and it functions in a male-dominated sphere.[4]

Brooks argues that this dichotomy is a simplistic distortion of a more nuanced historical situation: the private musical world is inextricably linked with the public one,[5] and separating the salon into a different sphere from the public concert hinders the study of its functions.[6] There is more to the salon and its functions than a comparison to its binary opposite. Such considerations as "[t]he size of the hall, the way of constituting an audience, the way of drawing up the program, the forces employed, the frequency and nature of reports in the press" define the space as public or private.[7] Public halls were larger, attracted large audiences of patrons who could afford the price of admission, and employed professional musicians.

---

[4] Ibid., 415-6.
[5] Brooks, "Nadia Boulanger," 420.
[6] Ibid., 464.
[7] Ibid.

Queen Victoria's State Concerts provide a clear example of the problems caused by this binary: they fall into a nebulous middle ground between private and public performances. State Concerts were private events that held public significance because of their association with royalty. The Queen's strict control over the list of guests invited to the concerts confirms their private nature. Nonetheless, the hall's size, the number of guests and the caliber of performers are more typical of public concerts, and furthermore, the press were notified of and recorded in print all concerts held at Royal palaces, although the press did not attend the palace concerts. This private/public tension was a constant source of interest for Victoria's subjects, not only musically but domestically: "[w]hat the Victorians were treated to during the 1840s and 1850s was, specifically and paradoxically, the spectacle of royal domestic privacy, a privacy that centered on the ever-plumper figure of their Queen as wife and mother."[8] State Concerts were certainly above the domestic activities of Victoria's subjects, but as part of her domestic life they were a central component to her performance of royal domesticity and the private nature of her court.

The amount of musical activity at Queen Victoria's court was so great that no English aristocratic salon could possibly compete with the level and frequency of musical performances. Although State Concerts were held in the Queen's private, domestic space, there was nothing intimate about performing before seven hundred invited guests. These events could be considered within the public/professional category because they were lavish and large-scale productions

[8] Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 4.

that revealed as much about their patron as about the music and performers. In contrast to the professional State Concerts, there certainly was 'private music' at court in the sense that it was intimate, often between Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and their attendants. This reflected the type of domestic music-making occurring in middle-class homes—made by amateurs and not intended for public consumption, and with an audience of (at most) friends and associates.

As the organizer of the private, yet professional, State and miscellaneous concerts, Queen Victoria was an aristocratic woman responsible for an incredible amount of musical activity. Her sex and her role as coordinator for all musical activity at court, especially the State and miscellaneous concerts, align these events with the salon. This is one reason that musical activity and musicians who performed at Queen Victoria's court have been neglected in scholarship, since, as Brooks reminds us, salon music has been undervalued for its "private" location and women's involvement. However, the vast range and prestige of performances and performers elevate State Concerts far beyond the triviality conventionally associated with salon music. Victoria's position as monarch also elevated the status of the performing venue. Nonetheless, her court's perceived musical importance has been minimized, either because of her gender or the habit of overlooking aristocratic patronage in a "bourgeois" era.

To explore these interrelated binaries one of Brooks's questions is, "In what ways were gender stereotypes played out in the salon?"[9] In Queen Victoria's case, gender stereotypes familiar from the public world were overturned at court performances. Unlike the public sphere where the majority of

[9] Ibid., 465.

producers and impresarios were male, female musicians appearing at court answered to Queen Victoria, a female patron, who likewise engineered a great percentage of her private performances to significantly feature female musicians. Although a female patron in an aristocratic or royal context was not unconventional, the public prominence that Victoria's position as reigning monarch gave to all her activities made her role as patroness uniquely significant.

While performers at Queen Victoria's court first made their name in public before receiving an invitation to court, nevertheless their more private performances before Queen Victoria did more to legitimize their reputations and careers to the general public than their public performances. As we will see, after performing before Victoria they could advertise that they had sung before the Queen, which would usually elicit an increase in attendance at their performances for a significant length of time. An invitation to Victoria's court was a very public affirmation, though bestowed in a private setting, that women musicians were respectable enough to appear before the Queen. Despite all of Giulia Grisi's indiscretions, for instance, she continued to be a fixture at court.[10] But this privilege was not unlimited; according to Elizabeth Forbes, after Grisi voiced her resentment and jealousy of Jenny Lind at a State Concert in which Lind did not sing, Queen Victoria stopped almost all mention of Grisi in her journal.[11] As a punishment, Grisi was no longer invited to private musical evenings at Osborne,

---

[10] Grisi had an extra-marital affair with the tenor Mario, divorced her husband. Grisi was also thought to be involved in an attempt to ruin Pauline Viardot-Garcia's career; Garcia was a rival of Grisi's.

[11] Elizabeth Forbes, *Mario and Grisi: a biography* (London: Victor Gallanz Ltd., 1985), 91.

but she continued to be invited to formal functions.[12] This allowed Grisi to appear respectable in the eyes of the public and the court, but her privileged position within the court was lost. Victoria's apparent reluctance to dismiss Grisi entirely, however, suggests a degree of unexpected reciprocity in the relationship: even if the Queen disapproved of Grisi's behaviour, she avoided taking an action that might have thrown her earlier judgment into question. Gaining the support of a prominent patron could certainly diminish any negative connotations implied by a public career, perhaps even to the point that the patron herself could feel constrained by the performer's image to which her support had contributed.

Another example of a woman patron, but outside of the salon setting, provides an additional case of both women's patronage and their marginalized position in leadership roles in the musical world.[13] Countess Greffulhe's musical patronage, also in *fin de siècle* France like Princess de Polignac, centered on managing and organizing grand public concerts. She used her money, aristocratic standing, and social connections to support the arts and that support in turn gave her power and a place in the public eye. There are immediately visible similarities between Countess Greffulhe and Queen Victoria. Both women performed the powerful role of concert organizer for large musical spectacles, positions that were possible because of their social standing. Countess Greffulhe's self-appointed presidency of the Société des Grandes Auditions made her a driving force in French music. Queen Victoria's social position gained her

---

[12] Ibid., 113.

[13] See Jann Pasler, "Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation" in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2004): 221-255.

access to musicians who would normally have been above even the English aristocracy's niche. While aristocratic patrons might have been able to afford one prima donna for an intimate gathering, the size of the audience and number of prominent performers engaged for Queen Victoria's concerts were well beyond the aristocracy's financial means. Both women were formidable directors, steering their respective nations' musical taste. But there were great differences, too. Queen Victoria's concert venue was undoubtedly more privileged and her social position was far higher than Countess Greffulhe's. But in both cases, social position made patronage a possibility, and patronage at this level led to power over musical culture. The effect of this power also contributed to these women's cultural capital. For Countess Greffulhe, the position she created for herself made her a powerful member of French high society. For Queen Victoria, her support of music and musicians was seen to have a positive effect on her subjects' perception of Queen Victoria and her role as monarch.

The press played a large role in the success of both Queen Victoria's and Countess Greffulhe's endeavours. Greffulhe had much more at stake both financially and in terms of her reputation. Because of her tireless commitment to her Société and support of the arts, the press conferred upon her the title of 'Queen of Music' in the early 1900s.[14] Countess Greffulhe was also more dependent on the press for her concerts' success through reviews and advertising. Though Victoria's concerts were a private endeavour, the Court Circular's lists of performers and repertoire made the public aware of the musical activity at their sovereign's court. The press also affirmed Queen Victoria's role as beneficent

[14] Ibid., 242.

monarch and patron in concert reviews, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. While these were not solicited articles, they notified the public of Victoria's activities and portrayed her in a positive light, as a model for her subjects.

Since women were the uncontested stars of opera with men as supporting artists, and since the repertoire of State Concerts was centered on female vocality, it was within Victoria's right as patron to give women a prominent place and to reward her favourites accordingly. As we have seen, though, Victoria's position as patron reversed at least one of the normal gender roles of public performances, where male producers hired women musicians. Women's performance tradition has predominantly been guided by male patronage; women have subsequently had to negotiate their public personas in order to succeed, as Jennifer C. Post notes:

> [o]ne might expect that music events involving public or professional women would exhibit characteristics of the men's public sphere. Research shows, in fact, although women in the public sphere display some social characteristics similar to men's, the performance context and styles of music performed by women, whether in the private or public domain, manifest women's social restrictions. Women performing in the public sphere, while shedding some of their domestic responsibilities...remain restricted in performance context and repertoire and are placed in subordinate positions in relation to men.[15]

Post's study is concerned with the division of performance space into public and private realms and how women musicians have fit into this dichotomy in

---

[15] Jennifer C. Post, "Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions," in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Susan C. Cook and Judy Tsou (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 43.

nineteenth and twentieth century cultural contexts.[16] Though not directly discussing patronage, Post considers the effect of women adapting to social conventions in order to be accepted; in effect, she presumes the sex of the patron, since typically in private settings women's social restrictions were continually upheld. Queen Victoria's State Concerts and her court are exceptional with respect to this generalization as well: not only were they an arena where women musicians were valued and held in high regard, but they offered at least one performance space in which the position of highest authority was incontestably occupied not by a man, but by the Queen herself. The Queen's preference for female performers may have been due to her sex, or to a more general social preference for the female voice. But whichever is the case, with a female patron, Queen Victoria's court was a rare space where women musicians were legitimized by a powerful female figure. The position of women singers as the event's focus is evident from the number of solo works performed by Clara Novello at the State Concert for the Princess Royal's wedding of 1858. Not only was she paid the most, but she also sang the most.[17] In the case of State Concerts the operatic genre itself helped in uplifting women's roles. The characters portrayed did little to further women's causes and rights, but the power of prima donnas' voices was the true attraction, not the plots, since excerpts were performed out of context. Queen Victoria's court was one of the few and first

---

[16] Ibid., 35.

[17] See below Table 4, page 85. Women singers were prominent fixtures in nineteenth century concerts. Orchestral performances by the Philharmonic Society and the Concert of Ancient Music and public concerts by touring virtuosos often enlisted singers to perform a few selections in between instrumental pieces in order to satisfy the public's infatuation with vocal music.

places to offer professional women singers a venue away from the operatic stage where they were financially and socially equal to male musicians, if not superior.

The examples of Princess de Polignac and Countess Greffulhe show the contribution aristocratic women made in their promotion of music and musicians, and the struggles associated with supporting musicians and causes they were passionate about. In general, women patrons have not received the attention that their activism merits. Queen Victoria's support of public musical performances and her private leadership of the State Concerts demonstrate her interest in musical affairs. Even if her "domestic" performances transcend the salon phenomenon, she was an enterprising music enthusiast who knew that her patronage would help those artists whom she loved. Musicians' association with Queen Victoria and her court increased their social status. Queen Victoria's musical involvement, then, was a significant factor in defining musicians' social position.

Pomp and Circumstance: the State Concerts

State Concerts were the crowning event of all the musical activity that occurred at Queen Victoria's court. There were usually two State Concerts per year, taking place between May and August.[18] According to Budds's list of State Concerts the only break in this pattern occurred in 1844 when there were no State Concerts, likely due to Queen Victoria's confinement prior to the birth of Prince Alfred on August 6, 1844. The size of the audience ranged from 400 to 800

[18] For a complete list of State Concerts, their performers, and repertoire see Budds, *Music*, 928-1035.

people and was comprised of the Royal Family, foreign Ambassadors, Ministers, Chargés d'Affaires, with the remaining guests and the largest percentage of attendees coming from the nobility.[19] The large number of guests and their social status indicate a grand affair, where the performers' calibre also contributed to the event's prestige. A typical State Concert began shortly before 10pm, with the procession of the Queen, Royal Family, and their attendants in-waiting into the concert room, where both guests and performers awaited their arrival.[20] The concert lasted approximately two hours, and the evening was brought to a close with supper at midnight. The length of the concert, though typical for the era, and its formal dinner at midnight indicate an extravagant evening of exceptional musical performances among high society, with all the accessories of opulence.

Concerts up to and beyond the mid-nineteenth century were collections of instrumental and vocal pieces, often with opera-based tunes providing some continuity between instrumental and vocal genres.[21] State Concert programmes were no exception and consisted largely of vocal pieces with occasional instrumental works or solos used to round out the programme. The prominence of vocal works at the State Concerts was in part due to Queen Victoria's love of opera, while at the same time reflecting standard programmes of the era. Private concerts were more varied, because they depended on the availability of performers and as such contained more instrumental repertoire.

---

[19] "Her Majesty's State Concert," *Times* (London), 3 July 1856), p. 9; Issue 22410, col C.
[20] *The Times* (23 June 1838), 4; qtd in Budds 497.
[21] William Weber, "From miscellany to homogeneity in concert programming," *Poetics* 29(2001): 127.

In this section I compare several impressions of State Concerts: those of the Queen, of Hermann Klein, a music critic and performer who was smuggled in to observe a State Concert, and of a performer, Emma Albani, the Canadian-born soprano who repeatedly performed before Victoria toward the end of the Queen's life. Even though Klein and Albani attended State Concerts after the scope of this study, their observations regarding the etiquette and formality of the occasion are valuable because no earlier accounts by outsiders are available.

Queen Victoria's journal is one of only a few written accounts of the State Concerts. Queen Victoria must have looked forward to these concerts; she mentioned every State Concert I searched for in her journal. She even occasionally mentions attending the afternoon rehearsal for the evening's concert.[22] Her journal entries regarding State Concerts are decidedly less expansive than those describing her trips to the opera house. This may be due to her level of involvement with the State Concerts. While she may have been aware of a few of the evening's details at the opera, such as the work being performed, the planning of her attendance of the opera was left to members of her household.[23] However, at home she had superior knowledge of the arrangements because of her role as organizer, and therefore felt that lengthy descriptions of the details were unnecessary. Nevertheless, she was still genuinely pleased with the concerts she was responsible for, as, for instance she reported of one such event on July 1, 1844:

---

[22] RA VIC/QVJ/1850: 1 July.
[23] Budds, 274.

> After dinner, we had, as Albert truly observed, the finest Concert we ever had & I annex the list of those invited to it, as well as the Programme. Grisi, Persiani, Castellan, Mario, Moriani, Salvi, Lablache, Staudigl & Fornasari sang! 9 such talents may perhaps never be assembled together again. They all sang most beautifully & it was, in short, a delightful Concert, with which everyone seemed pleased.[24]

Although this was not a State Concert, it resembles the State Concert in programme, performers and performance space, but this was truly an intimate evening since there were only fifty audience members.[25] Queen Victoria was eight months pregnant with Prince Alfred and this less grand concert may have been a substitute for a State Concert. Gone are the comparisons and physical descriptions of her youthful entries; Victoria was more concerned with the overall performance. Similarly, at a State Concert in which Thérèse Tietjens was of particular interest to Victoria, her description is short: "The Concert was a very good one & I annex the Programme. M^lle. Titiens [sic] has a most beautiful full voice & sings admirably. She is not an Austrian, but comes from Hamburg. She has been 8 years on the stage, & 5, at the Opera at Vienna."[26] In contrast to her youthful critiques where a singer's physical appearance was central to Victoria's appraisal, Victoria here chooses not to describe Tietjens's physical appearance, which was apparently quite displeasing. This shows Victoria's maturity, but it may also indicate the difference between a mere fan and an informed patron. By

---

[24] RA VIC/QVJ/1844: 3 July. The evening's program, also reported in the *Times*'s Court Circular, included arias and ensembles from Meyerbeer, Mozart, Donizetti, Costa, Paer, Pergolesi, Cherubini, and Rossini.

[25] "Court Circular," *Times* (London), 4 July 1844, p. 5; Issue 18653, col D.

[26] RA VIC/QVJ/1858: 3 May. This was another evening of operatic selections by Mendelssohn, Weber, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Auber, Mozart, Niedermeyer, Balfe, Donizetti, Lessauer, Curschmann, and Righini.

focusing on Tietjen's voice rather than her appearance, such entries suggest that Queen Victoria's interests now lay in the musical performance, not the physical beauty or ugliness of the performer.

The surroundings for the State Concerts were certainly extravagant, set in the opulence of Buckingham Palace, but the beautiful home of the State Concerts was marred for Klein by their boredom. While Victoria's remarks about State Concerts focus on the event itself, Hermann Klein's focused on the ritual as well as the performances, because he was unused to the etiquette that ruled court life. Klein became the music critic for the *Sunday Times* in 1881. One of Klein's first pieces was an account of a State Concert. Klein believed it to be the first as well as the last time a State Concert was written about for a musical journal.[27] Klein got over the excitement of observing such a prestigious event rather quickly: "[t]hough magnificent to the eye, and a sight gorgeous and dazzling beyond my powers of description, nevertheless I found that State Concert at Buckingham Palace one of the slowest and [most] dispiriting functions that it was ever my lot to witness."[28] The Queen was absent with Edward, Prince of Wales acting as her representative. The room may have been full of England's elite

> [b]ut beyond that [elegantly dressed people], what?—the dullest sort of musical show that can be imagined. True, the artists were some of the best available; but the selection of pieces was necessarily of the miscellaneous or *ad captandum* order, and followed the preference at that time for any but English music. Above all, by the rules of court etiquette applause was

---

[27] Hermann Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London, 1870-1900* (London: William Heineman, 1903), 114.
[28] Ibid., 119.

> strictly forbidden. Number succeeded number without the least token of appreciation.[29]

Even the best artists of the day are unable to enliven a formal event with a haphazard programme. The State Concerts of the youthful Queen Victoria were most likely more energetic than Klein's description of musical drudgery, but the etiquette of the evening would have remained the same. As Victoria got older, she did allow audiences for theatricals staged in her home to display their pleasure by applauding, but she herself never stooped to such a vulgar gesture, and showed her enjoyment by tapping her fan on the arm of her chair.[30] In her youth, Victoria also confirmed her enthusiasm by talking to the performers following concerts. Regardless of Klein's boredom, State Concerts pleased the organizer and undoubtedly the incongruous nature of the programme did not bother the Queen in the least. This suggests that Klein is applying a later standard of programming. In the early and mid-nineteenth century, miscellaneous concerts were expected.[31] Klein's account may well be a sign that what was accepted early in the Queen's reign had become old-fashioned. Queen Victoria's earlier account claiming that people were pleased may well have been true.

The ritual of the State Concerts reveals much about Queen Victoria's musical values and upbringing. The observation of silence shows the formality necessary for the dignity of her position. It also heightened the sense of importance for the event and its performers. That etiquette was strictly observed

---

[29] Ibid., 120.
[30] Richard W. Schoch, *Queen Victoria and the Theatre of her Age* (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 76, 79.
[31] Weber, "From Miscellany to homogeneity," 127.

in her younger days demonstrates her respect for tradition. Times were changing, but that did not mean that she was required to change with the times. These actions speak volumes about her character in that she was always aware of her rank and position. From her earliest realization of her eventual role as Queen, she was taught to set an example for her people.

Such silence must have been disconcerting for the famous performers used to large, responsive crowds. Perhaps more bothersome than a quiet audience, though, was the non-negotiable fee that performers were paid. The State Concerts, while certainly prestigious, were not the most highly remunerative opportunities for musicians. They were also events which performers were not eager to discuss. Numerous biographies and memoirs of performers pass over them in silence. One rare exception is Emma Albani, who regularly performed for Queen Victoria beginning in the 1870s:

> Despite the honour, it was an extremely trying experience for the artists, for the whole affair was heavily bound by tradition and court etiquette. Even the singers' fees were regulated by tradition. Regardless of what she commanded for a regular stage appearance, a singer at a Royal Concert received 25 guineas [roughly £26.25, or an estimated £1528.85 in modern funds], no more, no less.[32]

Those performers who received court invitations were those that commanded high box office prices of hundreds of pounds a night or more. To receive significantly less was a financial regression, although the fee they received was still fantastical when considering the working and lower-classes; however, the

---

[32] Cheryl MacDonald, *Emma Albani: a Victorian Diva* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984), 67.

benefits of singing for a sovereign, as will be discussed below, far outweighed a single night's salary reduction.

The patron's contentment was the primary goal of the State Concerts, and Victoria thoroughly enjoyed the performances and the opportunity to meet famous performers in a more private setting. That all was not ideal for outside observers and performers was of secondary importance at best. Klein's observations are useful in that they preserve a perhaps more objective perspective of the State Concerts, but ultimately the purpose of these concerts was not the enjoyment of outsiders like Klein. Victoria organized and paid for the performances, which were meant to gratify her; judging from the accounts in her journal, they did.

Singing for their supper: the economics of State Concerts

Performing at court was as a performance like any other, despite its extravagant surroundings; it involved financial remuneration for a service rendered. The financial aspect of State Concerts, as they relate to specific performers and performances, have gone unexamined. Because women musicians were so prominently featured in the State Concerts in particular an examination of their payment for such performances shows the resulting economic capital that their social and symbolic capital acquired for them, since they were public figures before appearing at a State Concert.

The account books for Queen Victoria's reign, housed at the National Archives (formerly the Public Records Office) contain only very incomplete

records concerning the financial aspects of court musical life; for example, the salaries for Master of Music, £69.2.7½, and Conductor of the Music, £25 per quarter, along with the twenty-four musicians in the Queen's band, £11.9.1½ per quarter, were first recorded in 1838, a year after Victoria became Queen.[33] A modern day estimate of these amounts is: £3048.60 per quarter for the Master of Music, £1102 per quarter for the Conductor of Music, and £505.31 per quarter for each of the twenty-four musicians making up the Queen's band.[34] The accounts for the State Concerts, in particular, do not seem to have been a high priority for the Lord Chamberlain, since the first mention of payments for private concerts was in the quarterly accounts for 31st March 1853. Even then, though, the accounts failed to list what individual performers were paid for private concerts. Protocol was such that the Master of the Queen's Music would receive a lump sum that would then be passed on to individual performers. Thus, George Anderson, Lucy Anderson's husband and Master of the Queen's Music, was given £389.10.6 during the quarter ending 31 March, 1853, but it was not specified how that sum would be divided among various performers (See Table 3).[35] This is approximately £22 789.90 in modern funds, and points to the extravagance and opulence of these events. This was the cost for musicians; there were undoubtedly additional expenses for decorations, staff, and food.

When William Martins held office as a Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter, he routinely signed the Lord Chamberlain's account book and recorded payment

---

[33] LC 3/51 Salaries of Offices upon the Establishment for the year ending 31st, December 1838.
[34] http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp#mid. The National Archives' website provide a currency converter that gives an approximate spending worth in today's funds.
[35] LC 9/355 Lord Chamberlain's Quarterly Accounts

information. His signature first appeared in the quarter ending 30 June 1849 and he was the first to include a more detailed record of musicians' payments during Victoria's reign. Under 'Sundries' Martins recorded several payments to musical establishments (See Table 1). During this quarter payments were recorded for three bands hired to accompany State Balls, performers at State Concerts, performers for Private Concerts, as well as two companies of pianoforte makers, who serviced the instruments at the various palaces. Like the Master of the Queen's music, the director of each band collected a fee to be distributed among his players. As a comparison I have included other expenses recorded in the Lord Chamberlain's records for the same quarter as an example of what other services were paid and where musical expenses fit in court expenditures (See Table 2).

Although individual musical events were not the court's most costly expense, the total expenses for all the musical activities surpass even the most mundane, but necessary household expenses. Within musical costs, however, the performers at State Concerts received the greatest single amount, revealing its status among court musical events. Martins's tenure as bookkeeper, and that of his equally meticulous successor Norman Hilton MacDonald in 1851, meant that records of the overall expenses of State and private concerts were kept until 1856. Table 3 lists the payments made to Costa and Anderson for State and private concerts during this time. Either because the books were poorly organized or as a way of double-checking expenses, there was a second account book that overlapped with Martins's and MacDonald's records. To the credit of various

Table 1. The musical expenses for William Martins's first quarter as Gentleman Usher, ending 30 June 1849. These were all the musical expenses for this quarter and show the level of court musical activity and the financial value of court music. [36]

Bands at State Balls	Johann Strauss £150 Chas Coote £114.1 John Weippert £63
Performers at State Concerts	Michael Costa £342
Performers at Private Concerts	G. F. Anderson £241.15
Pianoforte makers Erard for renting & servicing pianos at Buckingham Palace, Windsor & Osborne, Claremont, Balmoral	£79.7
Pianoforte makers Broadwood for it rental & servicing at Buckingham Palace	£30.7.9

record keepers the figures are identical in both books.[37] Not only was this second series of accounts better labelled, but the pages were numbered.

The difference in cost between private and State concerts resulted from the calibre and number of performers heard and where they were heard. State Concerts involved from five to ten soloists, whereas private concerts could consist of only one performer, or a soloist and accompanist. State Concerts took place in the ballroom of Buckingham Palace, while private concerts typically occurred at Windsor and other royal residences. Private concerts were also usually shorter in length. I will use the quarter ending on June 30, 1854 as an example of the different performers present at State and private concerts and their financial remuneration (See Table 3, row 13 for total cost of court music for that quarter). In the absence of more detailed financial records, the number of

[36] LC 9/355.

[37] LC 9/356 Quarterly Accounts from 1 July 1854 to 31 December 1858. There were several accounts from which funds could come. Account # 1 was wages; Account #2 was not labelled; Account #3 was Interior Wages; and Account #4 was Extraordinary Services.

Table 2. Miscellaneous expenses from Martins's first quarter as Gentleman Usher. I include these miscellaneous accounts for a comparison to the cost of musical activities.[38]

Royal Laundry	£582.13.1
Coal Merchants	£8.15
Cleaning Pictures	£12.19
Surgeons & Apothecaries	£175

Table 3. Expenses of State balls, State and private concerts from 1850-1856.[39]

31 March 1850	Performers @ Private Concerts	G. F. Anderson £18.12
30 June 1850	Performers at Private Concerts Bands at State Balls	£109.19.6 John Wippert £50 Coote & Tinney £50
30 September 1850	Performers at State Concerts	M. Costa £202.19
31 March 1851	Performers @ Private Concert	G. F. Anderson £103.8.2
30 June 1851	Performers at Private Concerts	G. F. Anderson £194.7.6 Signor Costa £405
30 September 1851	Performers at Private Concerts Bands at State Balls Performers at State Concerts	G. F. Anderson £12.12.6 John Wippert £50 C. Boosé £50 M. Costa £223.12.6
31 December 1851	Musical Performance	G. F. Anderson £34.6
31 March 1852	Performers at Concerts	G. Anderson £139.7.9
30 June 1852	Performers at State Balls D° at Private & State Concerts	C. Boosé & Tinney £50 G. F. Anderson £147.5.6 M. Costa £431.5
31 March 1853	Private Concerts	G. F. Anderson £389.10.6
30 June 1853	State Concerts Private D° State Balls	M. Costa £361.18 G. F Anderson £108.17.6 C. Boosé& C. S. Laurent £100
30 September 1853	State & Private Concerts	M. Costa £222.19.6 G. F. Anderson £104.17
30 June 1854	State & Private Concerts	M. Costa £466 G. F. Anderson £138.11.6
30 June 1855	Private Concerts State D°	G. F. Anderson £118.8.6 M. Costa £650.4
31 December 1855	Private Concerts	G. F. Anderson £109.17.6
31 March 1856	Private Concert	G. F. Anderson £268.9.9
30 June 1856	State Ball Bands Private Balls Choristers for the Confirmation of HRH the Princess Royal State Concerts	C. E. Laurent £113.6.8 G. F. Anderson £281.19.6 £19.7 M. Costa £476.16
30 September 1856	Concerts & Balls	G. F. Anderson Esq. £275.8

[38] Ibid.
[39] LC 9/355.

performers at a particular concert can give an idea regarding the approximate payment per musician depending on their importance for a particular performance. This was an active quarter with five musical events taking place at three different Royal Residences.

Not all quarters had as much musical activity. On May 8, 1854 there was a State Concert, although it was not labelled as such in the Court Circular. The performers included: Mesdames Bosio, Cruvelli, Didiée and Signori Lablache, Ronconi, Formes, Reichardt, and Lucchesi in a series of opera arias, ensembles, and Lieder.[40] There are several things that indicate that this is a State Concert. The first is the audience, which consisted of the nobility, Foreign Ministers, and the Royal Family. A second indication is the concert's location in the Salon reserved for grand concerts. Finally, Michael Costa was issued the larger sum in the Lord Chamberlain's records for State and private concerts and at this event he presided at the piano. Given the large scale of the concert and Costa's involvement, this event should be considered the first State Concert of 1854. Two days later an entirely different performance took place at Buckingham Palace. Miss Greenfield, "the Black Swan," performed before the Queen.[41] Greenfield's accompanist was George Smart and her repertoire is not listed in the Court Circular as it was for the State Concert. Greenfield was likely able to

---

[40] The programme consisted of the following pieces: the quintet "Sento o Dio" from Mozart's *Cosi fan Tutte*, a Lied by Hoelzel "Du hast um mich geweint;" a trio by Cherubini "Perfida Clori;" an aria "O Jours Heureux" by Meyerbeer; a trio from Beethoven's *Fidelio*; a barcarolle from Meyerbeer's *L'Etoile du Nord*; and the Finale from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*. The second half of the concert followed a similar pattern with no instrumental works; only opera excerpts. "Court Circular," *Times* (London) 9 May 1854, p. 9; Issue 21736, col F.

[41] "Court Circular," *Times* (London), 11 May 1854, p. 9; Issue 21738, col C. Miss Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield was an African-American opera singer, who also performed American compositions and folk songs.

choose her repertoire, whereas the performers for State Concerts were less free. Private concerts involved fewer performers in less formal performances, and thus cost less in terms of production and the performers' fees.

On May 25, 1854 a slightly more formal private concert took place at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, but it was still well below the grandeur of the State Concerts. After dinner, at which the Royal Marine band played, there was a performance of vocal and instrumental music.[42] The guest list was significantly smaller and much more intimate than that of the State Concert on May 8th. The Royal dinner party consisted of the Royal family and Captain the Hon. J. Denman. The length of the performance, number of performers, and repertoire are also on a smaller scale than the State Concert. The concert was not divided into two parts and there were only two vocalists, a pianist and Lucy Anderson to carry the performance. The performers seem not to have been of the same calibre as those of the State Concerts, as they do not appear at other concerts, private or State, during the period from 1850-58. Whereas State Concert performers usually returned to perform again, performers at private concerts were less likely to make a second appearance. Performers at private concerts may have been travelling virtuosos not returning to England, or they did not secure the Queen's attention. There are also more purely instrumental works

[42] "Court Circular," *Times* (London), 26 May 1854, p. 7; Issue 21751, col E. The performers were: Herr Hoelzel, Madame Nissen Saloman, who were both vocalists and Mrs. F. B. Jewson, piano. Mrs. Lucy Anderson accompanied the vocalists. The repertoire consisted of the following vocal works: Lied "Noch eh ich dich gesehen" by Hoelzel, an aria "Tutta raccolta ancor" and a Lied "Mein Herz ich will dich fragen" by Handel, a duet "O Du Geliebte" by O. Nicolai, a Lied "Der guati Rath" by Hoelzel, and Romances nationals Suedoises performed by Madame Nissen Saloman. Mrs. Jewson performed a Cappriccio by Mendelssohn and an etude by Goria.

on the programme, in contrast to the all-vocal State Concerts. The performers' availability may have dictated repertoire and the inclusion of instrumental pieces.

On June 2, 1854, Queen Victoria held another State Concert at Buckingham Palace with the Misses Pyne, Mesdames Bosio, Novello, Viardot, Didiée, Signori Gardoni, Lucchesi, Ronconi, Lablache, and Herr Formes performing before 380 guests consisting of the Royal family, nobility and Foreign Ministers.[43] Several of these performers were heard at the previous State Concert in May with Costa again accompanying on the piano. On June 16, 1854, there was a private concert, this time resembling a State concert in programme and performers, but the performance was at Windsor Castle.[44] The length of the concert also marks it as a private, since it was not divided into two parts like the State Concerts. Some performers that appeared at State Concerts made the journey to Windsor for this private concert—Signori Lablache and Gardoni. The number of guests is again less than that of the State Concerts and indicates an

---

[43] "Court Circular," *Times* (London), 3 June 1854, p. 12; Issue 21758, col D. The programme included an all-male quartet from Rossini's *Comte Ory*, Stradella's "O del mio dolce ardour" sung by Ronconi, a duet by Miss L. Pyne and Mme Didiée from Rossini's *Matilde di Shabran*, Niedermeyer's Meditation Poétique sung by Gardoni, a trio performed by Mme Bosio, Miss Pyne, and Mme Viardot from Meyerbeer's *Il Crociato*, an aria sung by Miss L. Pyne from Massè's *Les Noces de Jeannette*, with a chorus from Mendelssohn's *Paulus* being sung by all the soloists. The second half of the concert consisted of a quintet from Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, an aria sung by Mme Novello by Schimon, a duet from Rossini's *L'Inganno Felice* sung by Lablache and Ronconi, a quartet from Flotow's *Martha*, an aria sung by Herr Formes by Müller, a duet sung by Viardot and Lablache from Paisello's *La Molinara*. A chorus from Mendelssohn's *Christus* sung by all soloists closed the concert.

[44] "Court Circular," *Times* (London), 17 June 1854, p. 9; Issue 21770, col A. The concert began with an Overture from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* by O. Nicolai, and was followed by vocal selections: a trio sung by Mlle Anna Buckoltz Falerni, Signori Gardoni and Lablache from Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia*, the aria "Non più andrai" sung by Lablache from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*, "Air à la Tirolienne avec Variations" performed by Mlle Anna Buckoltz Falerni by Hummel, "Rappelle-toi" sung by Ronconi by Blumenthal, a duet from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* sung by Buckoltz Falerni and Lablache, a Canzone by Mendelssohn sung by Gardoni, a recitative and aria by His Royal Highness the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha sung by Buckholtz Falerni, Rossini's "La Danza," sung by Lablache, and a trio from Verdi's *I Lombari* sung by Mlle Buckoltz Falerni, Gardoni and Lablache. Mrs. Anderson accompanied on the piano.

intimate evening's entertainment. Joining the Royal family at the concert were the Duchess of Wellington, and the Ladies Harriet and Louisa Hamilton. The Earl of Aberdeen and the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert were expected at Windsor in the afternoon, but whether they were actually present at the concert is unclear in the Court Circular. The dominance of vocal selections on the programme recalls State Concert programmes, but there is one instrumental piece included—the overture from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* by O. Nicolai. The variety provided by the instrumental piece was lacking in the State Concerts. Queen Victoria may not have wanted variety, but rather to hear her favourite singers perform her favourite opera excerpts.

The venue for private and State concerts influenced the performers and repertoire. Buckingham Palace, an urban castle and seat of political power, was intended for hosting large, formal events. Osborne House and Windsor Castle were rural residences where the Queen and her family could escape from political commitments and public scrutiny of London. Their rural setting was the perfect locale for private, less formal concerts. The setting also reflects the cost of the event. The two sums issued to Michael Costa and George F. Anderson for the quarter were £466 and £138.11.6 respectively (See Table 3, row 13). There were two State Concerts during the quarter at roughly £233 for each concert. It is harder to partition the £138.11.6 as evenly since the three private performances varied in the number of performers involved in each concert and location. Still, the cost of one State Concert was almost £100 more than the three private concerts combined.

There was only one State Concert for which I found performers' individual salaries. In this case, they were not recorded in the household accounts, but in a special Gala Book that was used for special occasions. To mark the occasion of the Marriage of the Princess Royal, Princess Victoria, to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia in February 1858, Queen Victoria held a State Concert on January 25, 1858 (see Table 4 for programme). The Gala book lists the individual fees that all participating musicians received for appearing at the State Concert (see Table 5). It reveals that at least on this occasion, MacDonald's assertion that there was a completely fixed fee for State Concerts is inaccurate: at least one star performer, Clara Novello, received twice that amount, there is a large gap between the highest and lowest paid principal performers. The difference in pay between Novello and the others may be explained by the number of pieces sung. Novello sang four, while the next highest paid singers, Reeves and Giuglini, each did two. For the performance of a single piece (Beethoven's *Chorale Fantasia*), Lucy Anderson received slightly more than Miss Annie Lascelles[45] and the same amount as Mr. Willoughby Hunter Weiss.[46] Scored for orchestra, solo piano, and chorus, Beethoven's *Choral Fantasia* is a mammoth work comparable to a solo concerto. The difficulty of Anderson's contribution, her prominent place in the concert and her status in the Royal household contributed to the more generous payment for her services. With the total cost of the concert reaching in excess of £308, this was a relatively inexpensive State Concert compared to the usual cost of between £450 and £650.

---

[45] Lascelles (d. 1907) was an English mezzo soprano, who married English pianist-composer Francis Berger in 1864.

[46] Weiss (1820-1867) was a composer and bass vocalist of British heritage.

Table 4. Programme for the State Concert in honour of Princess Victoria's Wedding.[47]

Part First

Coronation Anthem — Handel

Quartetto, "Placido è il mor," (Idomeneo) — Mozart

Madame Clara Novello, Miss Lascelles, Signor Giuglini, and Mr. Weiss

Chorus, "The Heavens are telling," (Creation) — Haydn

Aria, "Dalla sua Pace," (*Il Don Giovanni*) — Mozart

Signor Giuglini

Choral Fantasia—Pianoforte—Mrs. Anderson — Beethoven

Principal Singers, Madame Clara Novello, Miss Lascelles, Signor Giuglini, Mr. Sims Reeves, and Mr. Weiss

---

Part Second

Selection from "Lohengrin," Bridal Procession, Wedding March, and Epithalamium — R. Wagner

Aria, "Robert, toi que j'aime," (Robert le Diable) — Meyerbeer

Madame Clara Novello

Finale, (*Loreley*) — Mendelssohn

The Solo part by Miss Louisa Pyne

Serenata, "The Dream" — M. Costa

(Composed expressly for the occasion of the Marriage of HRH Victoria, Princess Royal of England, and Frederick William, Prince of Prussia.)

Conducted by the Composer

Principal Singers, Madame Clara Novello, Miss Lascelles, Mr. Sims Reeves, and Mr. Weiss

Finale, "God Save the Queen"

Conductor Mr. Anderson

Long before an 'equal pay for equal work' campaign, Novello received more than her male colleagues performing the same task. Although this concert contributed to her economic capital, it was her presence and the prestige of the event that brought the biggest rewards. The sums performers were paid for performing at the Queen's concerts were not made public, and therefore the public could not assign value based on monetary gains. What was measurable was the status and reputation of those performing at court. For this reason male

[47] LC 6/167 Programmes. The programme for this State Concert was not included in Michael Budds's dissertation regarding music at Queen Victoria's court. The programme gave the operatic texts in translation and a brief synopsis of the operatic or choral excerpts. This was not done for all State Concerts, only this special one.

Table 5. Expenses for the State Concert in honour of the Princess Royal's wedding.[48]

Madame Novello	£52.10
Mrs. Anderson	£15.15
Miss Lascelles	£10.10
Mr. Sims Reeves	£26.5
Signor Giuglini	£26.5
Mr. Weiss	£15.15
W. H. Smith	£3.9
1 Violincello + 1 double bass	£4.4 each
2 Violins	£3.3
1 cor Inglesi 1 Bass Clarinet	£2.2
1 harp	£2.12.6
49 Instrumental Performers	£2.2 each
23 Professional singers	£41.8.6

musicians performing for Queen Victoria may not have minded receiving less pay than their female counterparts, or they may not have known what women musicians were paid. Madame Novello was the highest paid performer, an indication perhaps of her position as one of Queen Victoria's favourites. Although significantly less than the fee she commanded on the stage, £52 (approximately £3043.56 in modern currency) was a generous amount for an evening's work in the prestigious State Ball Room. As the highest paid performer, Novello financially and musically eclipsed the male singers. The Italian tenor Antonio Giulgini received the second highest sum (half of Novello's payment), along with John Sims Reeves, the pre-eminent English tenor. Although this pay scale was the rule more than the exception for women in opera, this was a miscellaneous concert of unstaged operatic excerpts, choral works and

[48] LC 2/81 Gala Book (Weddings, Christenings & other Special Occasions), p. 68. Miss Louisa Pyne was not listed in the Gala book, although according to the programme she participated in the concert. Since she only had a solo in one selection, it is reasonable to assume that she did not receive the same fee as Madame Novello or even Miss Lascelles, whose participation was substantial.

instrumental selections. Whether this pay scale was standard for State Concerts remains unconfirmed, because the records are so spotty. Yet it is not inconceivable that women singers regularly received more than men at the State Concerts, since the State Concerts' programs and variety of performers were similar to this special event.

After performing before the Royal family, performers stated their association with the Royal court in biographical articles and theatrical advertisements meant to attract the public to their performances, and thus justify the large sums that they commanded. These announcements were also intended to obtain symbolic, cultural and social capital in the wake of performances at the Royal court. As celebrities, women musicians and Queen Victoria were both the objects of an adoring public, whose interest gave them both visibility and symbolic power. This meant that they were often the subject of articles, reviews, and advertisements as an indication of their success and fame. These are examples of cultural goods, the measurements of objectified cultural capital.[49] Social capital is evident in the association of the performer with Queen Victoria. Since social capital is measured by the procurement of beneficial networks and relationships of mutual recognition any reference to the Queen would have been an indication of and an attempt to benefit from a performer's elevated status.[50]

A few examples from the Victorian press demonstrate the overt promotion of appearances before the Queen and the various forms of capital accumulating in this context. In a biographical piece about Louisa Pyne, the anonymous author

---

[49] Pierre Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 243.
[50] Ibid., 248.

traced Pyne's performance lineage to the Royal household: "In 1851, she sang at the Royal Italian Opera, with unprecedented success, in the presence of the Queen and Prince Albert....She next performed at Windsor Castle, and at Buckingham Palace on several occasions."[51] Any contact with or indirect support from the Queen was newsworthy in articles about musicians. In Pyne's case, singing before the Queen lent a degree of prestige to a young singer's career, since the Queen normally only heard established, foreign singers. The case of the English soprano Catherine Hayes case was similar to Pyne's: "She appeared at Covent Garden Theatre the 10th April 1849 [after a few years studying in Italy], as Linda, and afterwards as Lucia, and sang at the private concert at Buckingham Palace during the season, the Queen cordially congratulating her on 'her deserved success'."[52] This paraphrase from the Queen provided by Hayes was meant to indicate Hayes's acceptance by royalty. Such association with Queen Victoria increased musicians' social capital, which in turn contributed to their successful careers in the respectable musical institutions of the English Opera Company, the Sacred Harmonic and Philharmonic Societies.

There were even less subtle means of protracting mention of the Queen's patronage. The cultural goods of playbills and programmes provided excellent opportunities to announce recent performances before the Queen.[53] The advertising section of the *London Times* is full of references to the Queen and her patronage of music and the theatre. Lucy Anderson used her position within the

---

[51] "Miss Louisa Pyne," *The London Journal* 26/671 (January 2, 1858): 285.
[52] "Miss Catherine Hayes," *Reynold's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art* 17/442 (Saturday, December 27, 1856): 338.
[53] Schoch, *Queen Victoria and the Theatre of her Age*, 156-7, 186-7.

Royal household to her best advantage. With royal permission many of her concert advertisements begin with statements similar to this one, from 1851:

> under the immediate patronage of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen—Mrs. Anderson, pianiste to Her Majesty the Queen, and musical instructress to Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal, has the honour to announce that her ANNUAL GRAND MORNING CONCERT will take place at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent-garden [sic]...[54]

Anderson's advertisement does not promise the Queen's attendance, but makes her relationship with the Queen well-known.

Performers infrequently on the Royal payroll were unable to secure Royal permission to advertise concerts, but this did not prevent them from acknowledging their royal connections. Performers could make known their affiliation with Queen Victoria in interviews and biographies. Such was the case for a young Scottish singer, Miss Augusta Thomson in 1860:

---

[54] "Classified Advertising: Mrs. Anderson's Annual Grand Concert," *Times* (London) 29 May 1851, p. 4; Issue 20814, col B. Additional advertisements and articles that mention Anderson's relationship to the Queen include: "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 16 April 1839, p. 1; Issue 17017, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 28 April 1841, p. 1; Issue 17656, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 18 May 1844, p. 3; Issue 18613, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 8 May 1846, p. 1; Issue 19231, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 11 May 1849, p. 1; Issue 20173, col A; "Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 26 May 1849, p. 8; Issue 20186, col C; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 18 April 1850, p. 1; Issue 20466, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 25 May 1850, p. 4; Issue 20498, col F; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 31 May 1850, p. 4; Issue 20503, col E; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 1 June 1850, p. 5; Issue 20504, col E; "Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 23 June 1851, p. 3; Issue 20835, col E; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 19 May 1852, p. 4; Issue 21119, col C; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 14 May 1853, p. 4; Issue 21428, col E; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 9 June 1854, p. 2; Issue 21763, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 29 May 1856, p. 1; Issue 22380, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 5 May 1857, p. 1; Issue 22672, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 8 May 1858, p. 1; Issue 22988, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 11 June 1859, p. 1; Issue 23330, col A; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 10 May 1860, p.1; Issue 23616, col A; "Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 14 June 1860, p. 12; Issue 23646, col G; "Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 14 May 1861, p. 1; Issue 23932, col A; "Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 18 June 1861, p. 5; Issue 23962, col E; "Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Illustrated London News* 20/562 (June 5, 1852): 450.

> [she] made her début in England [from Glasgow] at one of the concerts of the Philharmonic Society, a début the éclat of which was recorded by ourselves and the other musical critics of the press. A few weeks afterwards, being in Scotland, she received by telegraph the Queen's command to sing at Buckingham Palace, which she did with the warm approbation of the Royal circle.[55]

Thomson would have had to inform the journalist of the Queen's telegraph, since how performers were invited to court was not included in the Court Circular. Thomson's name-dropping is harmless enough; she does not insinuate any particular relationship with Queen Victoria, but Victoria's name was enough to incur the interest of potential audience members for an unestablished musician trying to make her presence known in London's competitive music scene, as made clear by their use of Queen Victoria's name in press articles and advertisements for concerts. For musicians from the United Kingdom an association to the Queen was especially important given the fierce competition from foreign singers.

State Concerts and Nationality

Nineteenth century Britain was a time of optimism in politics, military and naval endeavours, which built a strong sense of nationalism. At the height of Victoria's reign English society still preferred foreign musicians, but "by the end of the century music had itself become an important national industry."[56] Queen Victoria's court was a cosmopolitan melting pot of performers. Italian, German,

---

[55] "Miss Augusta Thomson," *Illustrated London News* 36/1038 (June 30, 1860): 620.
[56] Eric David Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 198.

French, Canadian, Spanish, Swedish, American, Irish, and English performers vied for a limited number of invitations to the Royal court. Just as national identity was important in the Victorian press, as we will see, it was also significant for the Royal court: "Queen Victoria was not a nationalist as far as the arts were concerned and was not a victim of the limitations of that point of view. In fact, there is no indication that she preferred any music or musicians on the basis of national origin alone."[57] For Budds this was a commendable trait, one that displayed Victoria's ability to value the music or musician on purely aesthetic grounds. But, as monarch, Victoria was naïve to think that the nationality of performers at her court would go unnoticed. Less than a year into Victoria's reign, her fondness for theatricals and music was noticed by the press:

> The throne is now filled by sovereign, attached it is understood, we may say, it is apparent, to the drama; of an age when dramatic representations are most congenial to the enthusiastic feeling; and of a sex which most deeply enters into the joys, and most acutely feels the sorrows, of humanity…It is therefore natural to suppose that the Queen will warmly patronise the drama of her native country, a drama of which Shakspeare [sic] is the chief, but far from being the only ornament.[58]

Here sensitivity to art, including drama, is gendered female. The emotionality required to appreciate drama belongs to women, and as a woman Queen Victoria is predisposed to perceiving the feelings conveyed. Although these comments addressed English drama, it is reasonable to assume that English composers and musicians were also looking to the Queen for similar support. Perhaps with her

---

[57] Budds, *Music*, 248.
[58] "The Drama," *Metropolitan Magazine* 20 (December 1837): 123.

patronage England could produce a musical equivalent to Shakespeare or a Beethoven or recapture the prestige of naturalized English composers like George Frederick Handel.

Despite such hopes, there was a distinct lack of English performers at State Concerts until 1851, more than ten years after her coronation. Given the Queen's position this was unacceptable to English musicians and critics. Music by English composers was equally absent from court programmes. Although Victoria's journals are silent on this issue, her preference for Italian singers from the Royal Italian Opera points to a bias in national representation. Even after Louisa Pyne, English soprano, performed at her first of several State Concerts in 1851, the percentage of English performers was still less than that of foreign ones. Of the twelve principle singers for the three State Concerts of 1851 Louisa Pyne was the only British subject.[59] In 1852 Pyne was the only representative of her country of the nine singers at heard at State Concerts. The following year Clara Novello and Louis Pyne made up the English portion from the eleven singers appearing at State Concerts. For events of national importance, like the Royal marriage of 1858, all-English concerts could be mounted, but for personal concerts it seems Victoria, like other aristocrats, preferred the allure of foreign musicians. This did not go unnoticed by the critics at the time, as I will discuss in Chapter 4.

---

[59] Budds, *Music*, 949-951. The other eleven performers were: Giulia Grisi, Jeanne Castellan, Caroline Duprez, Giovanni Mario, Italo Gardoni, Filippo Coletti, Theodor Formes, Liugi Lablache, Sophie Cruvelli, Pauline Viardot-Garcia, and Antonio Tamburini.

Royal Respectability

The Queen established her own scale of what was acceptable in terms of women musicians and their performances. Those women who were invited to perform for Her Majesty had to be respectable ladies—the prima donnas rather than the chorus girls or music hall singers. This was a decision regarding both character and musical genre. Women in the performing arts were "as diverse as possible in their rank in the social pecking order."[60] Women performing in public were aware that their choice of profession left them open for ridicule and castigation as well as being "regarded as sexually 'loose' and thus fair game for any man who might care to seduce, slander, or otherwise abuse them."[61] Similarly a performance venue and genre could affect a women musician's social status; nineteenth century music halls were places of ill repute, because they were "tainted, in the middle-class mind, with drunkenness and vice."[62] Respectable ladies would not attend such performances, let alone participate in them. There is an additional genre issue evident as well—opera was an established aristocratic entertainment. Regardless of women musicians' morality and respectability they were an accepted part of opera.

The nature and location of women musicians' performances helped to negotiate the implicit challenges to their respectability. The operatic form was a powerful medium for women musicians, whose creation and portrayal of

---

[60] Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: their social identity in Victorian culture* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 3.
[61] Margaret Myers, "Searching for Data about European Ladies' Orchestras, 1870-1950," in *Music and Gender*, ed. Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 207.
[62] Meirion Hughes and Robert Strandling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a national music* 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 4.

characters reinforced an image of powerful women. Female operatic characters were frequently strong and compelling, with a certain degree of power over the male characters of the opera, either in terms of class structure or emotionally. Just as actresses reflected not only the playwright's words, but also the social climate of the time, in the combined profession of actress and singer, the principal women singers in opera were displaying and exerting their power in portraying these characters and by captivating the audience's attention both on and off stage. Women's operatic roles were so powerful that in order to restore the 'rightful' order, many operas end with the female protagonist's death.[63] For all the negative implications of their public performances, women musicians' characterization of aberrant female characters only reinforced their power within society. As art imitates life or life imitates art, opera singers' performances maintained the cycle of their social prominence. They were formidable women because they enacted powerful characters; these impressive characters in turn reflected their tenacious personalities in a competitive and sometimes antagonistic profession, which in the audience's minds may have become associated with their personal lives.

After success on the operatic stage, invitations to the more prestigious performance space of the salon became possible. This invitation solidified the reputation of performers, since salons were the undertaking of aristocratic patrons. As a private endeavour and a display of wealth and social position the salon potentially reflected the patron's station as much as the performer's. To perform in this space was lucrative socially and symbolically, if not

---

[63] Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, translated by Betsy Wing, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 43-59.

economically. To leave the public stage entirely and perform only for aristocratic patrons and connoisseurs was a sign of upward social movement, but such an extreme was so idealistic as to be virtually non-existent. Although musicians like Lucy Anderson and Jenny Lind could limit their number of public concerts, appearing in public was a necessity in order to succeed as a musician. However, the more successful these women musicians became the less often they appeared in public, proving their secured social, symbolic and financial capital.

There was little doubt as to the respectability at Victoria's court, since her reputation as a moral, virtuous woman permeated it. Queen Victoria as a patron represented ultimate acceptance in England, but her patronage of opera and its singers raises a fundamental tension. The moralist queen, who brought 'bourgeois morality' to the monarchy, patronised the traditional aristocratic art form, opera, which inevitably entailed women singing in public—a contentious space. However, Queen Victoria's attendance and popularization of opera was never criticized for its association with women singers. Since opera had long been associated with royalty and the nobility, it was an acceptable leisure activity for the Queen. Women singers were a necessary part of operatic performances, so patronizing them was a socially acceptable way to advance the prominence of women musicians—whether or not this was the intention of the patron.

Conclusion

The patronage experienced and social capital gained by musicians at the royal concerts far exceeded any monetary benefits of such an invitation.

However, the financial aspect to women's appearances at court reiterates their social and symbolic power. Reciprocally their position at court could be converted into other forms of capital, such as prestige, high-born contacts, and social status. To secure a spot at Queen Victoria's court as a musician was an honour that money could not buy. All musicians desired Queen Victoria's personal patronage, but women musicians in particular were favoured with prominence of place at the State Concerts in addition to the resulting financial and social remuneration they received for such performances. As the accounts show, the State Concerts were a significant expense of the Royal household, and as such not only did they display Queen Victoria's wealth and taste, but they also glorified those who performed before her and her court.

Chapter 3

Queenly Receptions: Queen Victoria's journal, the Victorian press, and royal discourse[1]

This chapter makes the transition from private to public spaces, but shifts the focus from performance itself to the discourse it engendered. After considering Queen Victoria's private criticism of female musicians in her journal from both court and public performances, I turn to the reception of women musicians in the press. There are a number of parallels and differences between her criticism and reviews published in the press. The largest difference between these two entities is the sex of the critic. As a female author Queen Victoria was a woman critiquing other women; in the Victorian press, although reviewers were allowed to publish anonymously, men still largely dominated the journalistic profession. At the same time, Queen Victoria's writings about women musicians follow patterns similar to those found in published reviews: both discussed women musicians in a different way than male musicians. Their physical appearance was of heightened concern, as was their private life as wife and mother.

In examining reviews from the Victorian press, I challenge current scholarly opinion regarding women musicians' acceptance by society. Past musicological and social history scholarship has maintained that women

---

[1] Some of the material for this chapter is modified from a paper, "In Consort: Women Musicians at Queen Victoria's Court," presented at the Canadian University Music Society's 2004 conference in Lethbridge, Alberta.

musicians, especially on stage, were viewed negatively.[2] My examination, however, while certainly not exhaustive, has yielded surprisingly positive results. In the numerous music reviews I studied from several different dailies and magazines, I did not find a single occurrence of a journalist criticizing a woman's public performance because of her sex. There was criticism, however, regarding the caliber of performance and a performer's suitability for a professional career. In this respect, women performers were treated like their male colleagues, with both good and bad reviews, including critiques of their technique and suitability for the profession. Such reviews only emphasize the normalcy of women musicians appearing in public in England. These sources, at least, suggest that the debate as to the appropriateness of women's public musical performance in scholarship has been considerably exaggerated, at least for this period.

How women musicians were received in public circles went a long way in determining the success or failure of their careers. In the Victorian era, no medium was more powerful than the press. Commenting on all aspects of society, the Victorian press was especially fond of musical events, with critiques of performances and other music related writings appearing in practically every daily and periodical.

In addition to examining the press and public's response to these women performing in public as representative of social discourse, I also examine the discursive language surrounding these women musicians because of Queen Victoria. Society was so preoccupied with the concepts of gender and nation that

---

[2] Deborah Rohr, The *Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11-13; Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: "encroaching on all man's privileges"* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 6-7.

they appear together in many reviews, either to support or detract from a woman musician's career. In addition to the gendered language of reviews, unofficial titles were conferred upon these women to assert their social status. 'Queen' was a natural choice given Queen Victoria's patronage of music, and opera in particular, and her position as a prominent public woman. I explore the parallels between the discursive use of 'Queen' for women musicians and Queen Victoria's involvement in London's musical life, as the press perceived it.

The London dailies, especially the *Times* and the *Illustrated London News*, are a valuable source in documenting the reception of professional women musicians. They reviewed all of the city's prominent musical societies, concert series, and opera companies. In numerous reviews from the *London Times, Illustrated London News* and several periodicals, I found no negative criticism regarding women musicians taking part in public performances, despite scholarly assessments mentioning such criticism and their low social position at the time. However, it should be noted again that the group of women musicians I am studying, pianists and singers, were the more accepted contingent of women musicians, and that those who received an invitation to Court formed a still more elite group. Yet, before receiving a royal invitation, they first had to successfully dominate public performance spaces. This raises two possibilities regarding women performing in public: 1) negative attitudes toward women performers were less pervasive than has been suggested; or 2) those attitudes were more specifically situated than we have realized—either among particular critical circles or within (or directed towards) a particular social group. Certainly the top

opera singers and pianists appearing at Queen Victoria's court were not received negatively; however, they were a special subset of women performers.

The nature of women musicians' profession led to particular patterns of the accumulation of capital. Their treatment by the press permitted gains to their cultural, symbolic and financial capital. By contributing to the culture of high society, women musicians were creating and obtaining their own cultural capital, the product of their personal investment in acquiring and displaying accepted forms of culture.[3] For nineteenth century women musicians, the forms of currency of cultural capital were the traits and practices that gave them advantages in legitimizing their careers: their proper performance of their gender, their talent, their individual reputations and their public presence. In order to be considered respectable by society, professional women musicians had to maintain reputations that conformed to the 'Angel in the House' ideal, while still performing tasks, such as organizing events and managing their careers, that were unnecessary for the majority of women. Women whose reputations failed to conform to the ideal could still be popular, but they had to amass other forms of capital in order to compensate for other lacks. Their reputation and talent acquired capital whose currency was prestige, respectability, and a hint of mystery that kept audiences engaged with their careers.

The accumulation of cultural capital eventually caused an increase in symbolic capital: the location of "agents as valued members of society."[4] Women's symbolic capital is evident in the discursive use of 'Queen' to

---

[3] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241.
[4] Sally MacArthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 97.

emphasize their legitimized position in society, which I discuss in greater detail below.

At a time when the expected cultural role of women consisted of running a household and providing a superior moral example, women musicians performing in public had to work to dispel negative stereotypes of such a career through careful representation of their reputations. That this negotiation required the public's attention speaks to the cultural capital invested by women musicians. In order to create a counter-ideal to the accepted one of their age, these women needed to sustain themselves as topics of public interest. Throughout the Victorian era prominent women musicians drew tremendous crowds wherever they performed; they were constantly in the press with reviews, biographies, and advertisements: both these circumstances reflect the cultural and symbolic capital that these women possessed. Due to the nature of their careers as performers, the roots of women musicians' fame and cultural capital ultimately lay in the emotional power they exerted on their audiences, and this power required that those audiences remain constantly aware of them. Thus in order to sustain these forms of capital, women musicians required ongoing documentation of their achievements, and the Victorian press was eager to comply.

A concept running through this entire discussion is women musicians' experience of the social binary of public and domestic space, or as it relates to this study, the public stage and the Queen's court. These public and private musical spaces are not the black/white binaries that they first seem, especially considering the public's fascination with Queen Victoria and her private life, as

well as the exceptional nature of the Queen's household—its extravagant surroundings and her position as its mistress. That women musicians performed in the private court setting on equal footing with men raises many considerations concerning women's public performances during the reign of Queen Victoria: their audience, acceptability, and social position. These concerns contextualize women musicians' reception in the Victorian press and Queen Victoria's role in facilitating that acceptance.

Private spaces: Queen Victoria as 'Opera Queen' and music critic

Queen Victoria's journal entries discussing music were not public, and therefore, did not have influence in public music circles. However, these entries do reveal Queen Victoria's taste. Although Victoria's own evaluations of her favourite performers have not been considered in the literature regarding these women musicians, her public appraisal of their talent, shown by her repeat appearances at their operatic performances and concerts, went a long way to legitimize their efforts as respectable women and musicians. Her private writings regarding these performers reveal a significant relationship with her favourites. Not surprisingly, given her passion for opera and music, Queen Victoria's journal entries provide a positive appraisal of these women's public performances. Sometimes discussing the same performances, Queen Victoria and the press paint a complementary tableau of women's public performance.

Victoria's journals are a catalogue of the Queen's life both official and private, and as such record her attendance of operatic and concert performances.

Prior to her marriage, the Queen attended the opera several nights a week during the season. Upon returning home or on the following morning, she would record her thoughts in her journal; her entries make clear how central music was for her. Because her journal was written as a personal account, the writing style is less polished than that of press reviews. However, Victoria's personal contact with the performers gave her an advantage. She had the time, space and interest to record and linger on specific moments of the concerts, whereas reviewers gave a general overview of the entire evening. Victoria also discussed singers' technique and style in greater detail than the reviewers, because it interested her as an amateur singer.

A few women singers received special attention from their patron, Queen Victoria, in addition to the other benefits of performing for the court. Since her girlhood, Victoria had always had a particular favourite, to whom she would give special attention at performances and her thoughts regarding her favourite would be considered at length after the performance in her journal. Throughout the period of this study two opera singers served as the Queen's favourite for significant periods of time. That Victoria developed significant and lasting personal relationships with certain performers demonstrates the respect she had for these women.

In1835, while Victoria was still a Princess, the young soprano Giulia Grisi captivated her. Much like the press reviewers of the time, Victoria was as concerned with Grisi's physical appearance and dress as she was with her musicality: "I shall only mention the finest things in the concert. I must

commence with saying that Grisi never sang better, and looked very pretty. She was dressed in a blue silk dress, open, with a small féronière round her head....Her shake was splendid."[5] A few days later at a different performance, Victoria recorded that Grisi repeated Handel's "Let the bright Seraphim" "by desire."[6] It is unclear whether by desire meant Princess Victoria's or the audience's. In her journal Victoria only notes how well Grisi sang, but she was more pleased that she had the opportunity to see Grisi up close:

> Between the two parts we lunched at the Deanery with our party and many others. Grisi came in with her uncle while we were at luncheon. She is extremely handsome, near-by, by day-light [sic]. Her features are not small, but extremely fine, and her eyes are beautiful as are also her teeth. She has such a sweet amiable expression when she smiles, and has pleasing quiet manners. She had an ugly dingy foulard dress on, with a large coloured handkerchief under a large muslin collar. And she had a frightful little pink bonnet on, but in spite of all her ugly attire she looked very handsome. She is a most fascinating little creature.[7]

Victoria's critical appraisal of Grisi's clothing and physical characteristics is sufficiently detailed that she must have spent considerable time during luncheon studying the opera singer. Her adoration is forgiving; despite dismal fashion, Grisi is still beautiful and captivating to her Royal fan. In Victoria's musical evenings with her ladies-in-waiting she always took Grisi's part in any ensemble, and pieces were referred to as Grisi's, such as Grisi's Casta Diva, rather than

---

[5] RA VIC/QVJ/1835: 9 September. Shake is a synonym for trill.
[6] RA VIC/QVJ/1835: 11 September.
[7] Ibid.

Donizetti's, *Norma*'s composer. In Victoria's eyes, it seems Grisi could musically do no wrong.

Victoria even went so far as to compare other prima donnas of the day to her favourite in the privacy of her journal. At Lucy Anderson's benefit concert, Victoria had the opportunity to hear Maria Malibran, one of the most famous sopranos of the 1830s and a member of the famed Garcia family. Such an acclaimed singer was sure to pique Victoria's interest; however Malibran was no match for her Grisi:

> I prefer Grisi's singing…to Malibran's; there is a sweetness, mildness and softness, accompanied with such beautifully clear execution, in the <u>former</u>, which the <u>latter</u> does <u>not</u> possess in the high notes. Malibran's deep tones are beautiful, touching and feeling, but her high notes are harsh, sharp and <u>voilée</u>….Malibran wore her hair very singularly; she had no bonnet on and had her hair done just as she has it in Fidelio, in a <u>chignon</u> all around her head, but which became her extremely.[8]

Malibran performed the same pieces as Grisi, which makes the comparison all the more relevant. This is a critical account of two powerful voices. Victoria reveals her perceptive ear in her description of the singers' tone. Although Grisi was the victor on this occasion, Princess Victoria was still thinking about her comparison of these singers three days later when Grisi performed in the Concert Room at Kensington Palace:

> I also said a word to her [Grisi] about her cough and she answered in a very unaffected manner. I like her so much better than Malibran, in singing and manners, for she is so much more natural than Malibran, though she may not be so much a "dame" as the latter, and then she is so

[8] RA VIC/QVJ/1836: 13 May.

> very handsome and has such a sweet expression, both of which Malibran has not. But Malibran is by far cleverer than Grisi....[9]

While Malibran may have been the more intellectual singer and more ladylike, Grisi's looks and manner are as much an attraction to Princess Victoria as her musical attributes.

Malibran was not Grisi's only rival. As each new prima donna made her debut on the English stage, Victoria was there to weigh Grisi's competition. Like the press, Victoria, too, discussed nationality as it related to her favourites. Just prior to her reign, Princess Victoria attended the debut of Madame Albertazzi. Victoria was careful to appreciate her talent, but only to a certain degree:

> [Albertazzi] is English by birth and married to an Italian, M. Albertazzi; but I imagine she must have been born and bred in Italy, for her style and manner is of the best Italian school. She is a charming singer, has a voice of great compass, her low notes and her high ones being peculiarly fine, the former reminding one forcibly of the lamented Malibran...Her middle notes are rather weak and thin and inferior to the still unequalled Grisi; there is likewise less feeling and fullness of voice in Albertazzi than in Grisi....Grisi, however, need not fear, she will ever be <u>la Regina del canto</u>.[10]

Offering a great compliment to Albertazzi, Victoria acknowledges that she could have been Italian because of her execution and technique. As an English singer there could be no higher accolade, especially from such a prominent connoisseur as the Queen. While many performers chose to keep their maiden names upon marriage, in Albertazzi's case her married name, fortuitously foreign, indicated an

---

[9] RA VIC/QVJ/1836: 16 May.
[10] RA VIC/QVJ/1837: 18 April.

automatic superiority that English singers did not possess. Her strong Italian technique helped command the authority her name implied. Because of Victoria's familiarity with other operatic singers, she is able to compare Albertazzi to the current stars: regardless of her Italian training, Albertazzi's skills are still no match for Victoria's favourite, Giulia Grisi. Weeks before Victoria was herself to be crowned Queen, her reference to Grisi as the Queen of Song in Italian (a remark thus both gendered and national), is a testament to how much she worshipped her favourite singer, and shows that the soon-to-be Queen was not above using her own eventual title where it was due.

Queen Victoria and Grisi occasionally met in between concert halves or following a performance, occasions that were in the presence of others. Despite Victoria's adulation of Grisi and her position as monarch, Victoria did not meet Grisi alone. To be alone with the Queen was an honour that few outside her household received; it was so rare that she noted in her journals the rare instances when she was able to be alone with her mother, her ministers, or other important figures. As Queen, Victoria's time was precious; servants and politicians were constantly by her side. In Grisi's case, it is likely that her reputation further reduced the likelihood of a private meeting, especially considering Victoria's comment regarding Malibran's ladylike qualities in the above journal entry. If she could have called Grisi a lady, she surely would have, making her Malibran's superior in another area, but this was impossible.

Grisi's reputation as the quintessential diva and her position at the center of several controversies during her career made her an unlikely companion of the

queen given Victoria's dislike of posturing and scandal.[11] The anecdotes of Grisi's scandals hardly made her appropriate company for Queen Victoria: separating from her husband, having a lover, being accused of sabotaging Pauline Viardot's career, as well as disobeying a legal settlement regarding her separation from her husband. Although Victoria does not directly name these reasons as to why she is not closer with Grisi, they do run counter to society's views at the time about propriety and conduct. It would have been questionable for Queen Victoria to associate more closely with such an overtly controversial woman. Despite Victoria's patronage of Grisi at the opera and State Concerts, it seems that Grisi's behaviour was too risqué for any more than worship from afar on the Queen's part.

As Victoria's reign and Grisi's career continued, the Queen's journals contain many assurances that Grisi would always be her favourite. However, as Grisi got older and her voice and looks began to deteriorate, a new favourite took the place of Victoria's teen idol. Grisi's successor, the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind, had an impeccable reputation that made her a more appropriate companion for the Queen. Lind's debut in 1847 was the musical event of the year. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were attending the opera on almost a nightly basis to hear the 'Swedish Nightingale.' Victoria also discussed Lind with Lablache during a singing lesson, seeking Lablache's opinion regarding her new favourite.[12] Given Victoria's enthrallment with opera singers, it is not surprising

---

[11] Arthur Ponsonby, *Queen Victoria* (London: Duckworth, 1933), 131.
[12] RA VIC/QVJ/1847: 6 May.

that her journal entries at the time of Lind's debut are full of references to the new debutante, whom she had previously heard in Germany:

> [t]he great event of the evening however, was Jenny Lind's appearance & her complete triumph! She has a most exquisite, powerful, & really quite peculiar voice, so round soft & flexible & her acting is charming & touching & very natural. Her appearance was very ladylike & sweet & though she is not beautiful, she has a fine tall figure, is very graceful, has fine blue eyes & fine hair. The storm of applause when she first appeared, & during her 1rst air, was tremendous.[13]

This first appraisal of Jenny Lind mirrors Queen Victoria's earlier entries critiquing Grisi. After describing her voice and acting, Victoria assesses her physical characteristics. Swept away like much of London by Jenny Lind's performances, Victoria emphasizes several attributes that endeared Jenny Lind to the public. Not only was she a phenomenal singer, but she carried herself like a lady, a contrast to the stereotypical actress who was also linked with prostitution. Lind was not a typical beauty and lacked the physical appeal that perhaps affected other performers and their reputations; however, that did not mean that she was not sought as a performer or that she was not an object of desire: her presence in London resulted in immense crowds that had never before been seen. It should come as little surprise that as Victoria became more enamoured with Lind her adoration of Grisi continued to fade. As time progressed Grisi could not sustain Victoria's favouritism: "[w]e dined alone & went to the new Opera, where we saw "Norma." Grisi exerted herself very much but has gone off a good deal in

[13] RA VIC/QVJ/1847: 4 May.

her acting & her voice has become 'passée'."[14] Scarcely a month had passed since Lind's debut and Grisi was no match for Lind's powerful, young voice.

Victoria and Lind shared a special rapport; the barrier between patron and performer was dissolved and instead a friendship grew that defied convention. Lind was bold, powerful and comfortable enough with the Queen to refuse a royal request. After a private performance at Buckingham Palace, Victoria expressed her eagerness to see and hear Lind next year, but Lind had alternate plans: "she intended leaving the stage, which is dreadful to contemplate."[15] Although this was not an outright refusal to sing for the Queen, Victoria was shocked and disappointed at Lind's exit from the world of opera. P.T. Barnum reported a more direct refusal in the press following Lind's farewell performances in 1850:

> It was further intimated to her [Lind] from Queen Victoria, that her services would be desired at about the same period, in a contemplated grand sacred festival at Westminster Abbey....Both of these last offers [the other being a one time performance at the Great World's Convention of Arts and Manufactures in Hyde Park, London] she was induced to decline, in consequence of her desire to visit America.[16]

Queen Victoria was unaccustomed to having her requests refused, and yet Jenny Lind remained a fixture at State Concerts and private performances upon her return from America. Knowing Barnum's reputation as an impresario, his account of Lind's declining Victoria's request to sing may have been a publicity

---

[14] RA VIC/QVJ/1847: 12 June.
[15] RA VIC/QVJ/1847: 30 June.
[16] "The visit of Jenny Lind to America (reprinted from the New York Herald)," *Times* (London), 6 March 1850), p. 7; Issue 20429, col F.

stunt, but Victoria was left without her favourite performer for more than a year, a prospect that would not have amused her.

Victoria describes Lind as "ladylike" in reference to her appearance. Although this seems like an insignificant adjective, Lind and Malibran are the only singers that Victoria categorizes in this manner in the time period I examined. Although Queen Victoria gave the compliment grudgingly to Malibran over her favourite Grisi, Lind was repeatedly described as such in Victoria's journals. Lind also had the approval of Queen Victoria's mother. Writing in 1847, Queen Victoria noted Lind's deportment: "[s]he [Mama] had seen Jenny Lind, who had brought her a letter from the G[ran]^{d} D[uche]^{ss} of Baden. Mama found Jenny Lind extremely pleasing & ladylike, though not at all pretty."[17] The term is used in a number of entries, almost as if Victoria is trying to convince herself that Lind is in fact a lady. Lind's ladylike qualities, unlike Grisi's questionable character, could have been the reason for Lind's numerous visits to court at Queen Victoria's request, in addition to Victoria's fondness for Lind. Just prior to her retirement from the operatic stage in 1850, Lind sang for two consecutive nights at Windsor Castle: "[a]fter dinner we had a real treat, for dear Jenny Lind came & sang more beautifully & exquisitely than ever. . . . The other music was also very good, but of course she was the principal attraction. She looked well, but does not intend to return to the stage."[18] And on the following day:

---

[17] RA VIC/QVJ/1847: 16 May.
[18] RA VIC/QVJ/1849: 16 January.

> Again a very rainy, though not completely wet day.___Walked with the children.___On coming home had the pleasure of seeing & talking to Jenny Lind, & hearing her sing. She came to my room & I feel quite proud that she played on my piano, & sang from my own music. She is such a wonderful creature, for she is such a musician, possesses such a voice, & is so unrivalled, such a genius, at the same time being so good & pure, as to be entirely above all commonplace things & considerations. She sang 1rst one of her Swedish songs 2nd "Das erste Veilchen," which is so lovely, 3rd Taubert's "Wiegenlied," & 2 of Mendelssohn's songs, finishing up with that delightful simple little song by Taubert "Ich muss einmal singen" which has been composed on purpose for her. All the songs she sang at my request.___Nothing could be more perfect than Jenny Lind's manner, so modest & retiring, so graceful & yet dignified. She repeated to me what she had said last night, that she would not reappear on the stage, that it had cost her much to come to this decision, but that I could not believe how distasteful all that was connected with the stage was to her, & how contrary to her nature...[19]

The time of day is significant. State and miscellaneous concerts only took place in the evening, yet Victoria and Lind met during the day. Although it is unclear who invited Lind for the visit, the more private nature of their meeting indicates an informal encounter, and perhaps a visit as much a social as professional one. Lind's presence the previous evening indicates a more formal event, where Lind was the main attraction. It is also unclear whether Victoria and Lind were alone. Queen Victoria writes that Lind "repeated to me,"' but further on in the entry she writes "She told us," which indicates more than one. This perhaps included Prince Albert or other members of the Household. This is not to suggest that their

[19] RA VIC/QVJ/1849: 17 January.

relationship could have been one of genuine equality; despite the informality of the visit, Lind still felt compelled to sing for her patron, likely at Victoria's request. Nonetheless, Victoria and Lind plainly had a relationship in which Lind felt sufficiently comfortable to express her intention to leave the stage. Victoria's reaction to this decision is particularly revealing: her surprise that Lind finds the stage so deplorable suggests that she was unbothered by Lind's public career, and more generally, did not assume that the stage was detrimental to character or that public careers lessened the worth of women musicians.

A final example of Queen Victoria's writing concerning women musicians shows that she was not only concerned with their performances, but also their lives. At an evening concert at Buckingham Palace in 1856 she had the opportunity to hear Clara Schumann:

> M^me^ Schumann plays quite beautifully & at the end of the Concert, I asked her to play 2 more pieces. She is the wife of the celebrated composer who has gone out of his mind, & she has come over here to get engagements in order to support her family. It is very touching to see her grief, & the look of sorrow in her face.[20]

Queen Victoria does not negatively judge Schumann's need to support her family by touring. Victoria's journal, her most private place, was likely the only one where she could honestly express how she felt without judgment or criticism. Rather than condemning Schumann's career, Victoria's tone is one of empathy, although described almost in terms of an actress performing a role. Scarcely five years later, Victoria would follow in Schumann's path as a grief-stricken widow.

---

[20] RA VIC/QVJ/1856: 21 April.

Schumann felt compelled to return full-time to her performing career, for artistic as well as financial reasons similarly; Victoria dutifully fulfilled her position, albeit reluctantly, for her family and her country.

Queen Victoria's adulation of her favourites shows an interested and involved patron. The surviving accounts in her journals suggest that she was not only in awe of their musical ability, but also fascinated with their physical appearance and character. As a result of her station she was able to follow these women's careers and procure a relationship with those she particularly adored. The attention paid to women singers in particular in Queen Victoria's journals and the eventual relationships she had with them marks Victoria as an 'Opera Queen.'[21] Mitchell Morris ascribes characteristics of modern day opera queens (members of the gay community that are obsessed with opera) as having roots in nineteenth-century opera audiences, an audience that frequently included Queen Victoria as a prominent member.[22] Queen Victoria's love of opera was well documented by the press and well known to her subjects. In this sense Victoria was in a most literal sense the first opera q/Queen because of her love of opera and her worship of female singers. As such, her reception of and fondness for opera and its singers made them more socially acceptable.

---

[21] In the *Apparitional Lesbian* Terry Castle gives Queen Victoria the title of 'diva-worshipper' because of her love of opera and its female singers (206). Mitchell Morris's "Reading as an Opera Queen," a chapter in Ruth A. Solie's (editor) *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music* regarding homosexual men's fanaticism with opera and its singers also informs Victoria's fascination with opera singers. That both these writings concern gender is not a coincidence. While Victoria's sexual orientation is unquestionably heterosexual, the adoration of female singers and musicians is more problematical. It was acceptable for all men, even those homosexual ones hiding their sexual preference, to worship women who appeared in public; that was why their public appearances were so unsettling. But, women, it seems, are not permitted to envy these women because of the possible sexual connotation of their worship.

[22] Ibid. 185.

Queen Victoria's diva worshipping coincides with Morris's developing definition of the modern opera queen:

> [c]entral to the 'true' opera queen's aesthetic is the cult of the singer—specifically, the female singer. All else pales beside the figure of the prima donna, who is from the opera queen's point of view the dominant figure in every opera of any importance…According to convention, an opera queen admires one prima donna in particular, and he [or she] will defend every one of her performances.[23]

Queen Victoria exhibited this kind of adulation in her journals, with discussions of her current favourite's clothing, physical appearance, and singing. Her association of singers with their roles, rather than the composer also contributes to her privileging of particular singers and support her identity as a diva-worshipper. Queen Victoria, however, was not the typical diva-worshipper; "her high status gave her unusual powers (such as the right to command private performances)," which were unavailable to the common diva-worshipper.[24] Like other diva-worshippers, she was thrilled by the female voice and appraised it in an educated and thoughtful way. But her diva-worshipping went a step beyond that of the typical diva-worshipper; she also showed concern for singers' lives away from the stage. Her worship of female singers made this practice dignified for her subjects and gave the performers themselves dignity.

---

[23] Ibid. 187.
[24] Castle, 206.

The Victorian Press

Directed at various audiences, the Victorian press was a source of both information and speculation. It provided factual news as well as opinion. It is primarily the professional opinions of music critics that inform this section, but they were not the only journalists writing about the musicians of the day. Short biographies, reviews, and accounts of famous musicians in monthlies and journals also recorded the musical pulse of the time. I examine material published daily, monthly, and quarterly, directed at different readers.

Newspapers were aimed at the middle classes in an attempt to consolidate ideals of respectability and propriety through the press.[25] Reviews and biographies of famous performers found in dailies facilitated the middle classes' interest in fashionable pursuits that displayed their newfound wealth.[26] Dailies were consumed in public—at public or coffee houses—where members of the working class who were literate had access to newspapers.[27] Similarly, monthly and quarterly magazines served a communal function, but were housed in more upscale locations such as libraries, clubs, literary, and philosophical societies.[28] When purchased by private subscribers, this periodical literature's intended readership was the individual or families.[29] In contrast to the daily newspapers, magazines targeted more comfortable subscribers, who could afford the extra cost

---

[25] Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001), 97.
[26] Ibid., 108.
[27] Ibid., 199.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

of coloured fashion plates and printed music.[30] Regardless of the intended readership, music and musicians were prominent features in all forms of press. In including these various types of writing directed at different levels of society, I intend to create a more comprehensive picture of how women musicians were perceived and received in society.

The representation of music and musicians in the Victorian era is bound up with two pervasive issues: gender and national identity.[31] Gender and music were inextricably linked, especially when considering the division of public and private spheres. As such, gender did not escape the watchful eye of the press: "[t]he negotiation of gender, that deft movement among categories of address, invocation, inclusion, and marginalisation, was in the nineteenth century often visible in the periodical press."[32] Not only did gender discourse circulate in the music itself, but also in reviews of performers' realization of the music, their bodies, and gender. In this way women musicians' negotiations of gender were a part of their cultural capital, an integral component of the "modes of thinking, types of dispositions, [and] sets of meanings" that both they and those who reviewed them used to assess their value.[33] How women musicians negotiated their gender and how it was represented in the press contributed to and detracted from their public acceptance.

---

[30] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and desire in the woman's magazine 1800-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 7.
[31] Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 19.
[32] Laurel Blake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein, "Introduction," *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Blake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 5.
[33] Diane Reay, "Gendering Bourdieu's concepts of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class," in *Feminism After Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 58.

Similarly, the concept of nation further affected these women's public reception and was also impacted their cultural capital: "[i]f music was one of the very few occupations open to women, it was certainly the only one dominated by foreigners."[34] The concept of nation surfaces repeatedly in the press's appraisal of women musicians as an additional limitation to their gender. When it came to music, British society perpetuated a reverse nationalism, since foreign performers were considered superior to native talent. English women musicians in particular had to acquire or manufacture other forms of capital in order to compensate for their undervalued nationality. Not only, then, did women have to prove themselves in spite of their gender, but they had to compete with a significant number of foreign musicians.

The discursive language of reviews contributed to the overall acceptance or rejection of the legitimacy of women musicians' public performances. Discourse is sensitive to the functions of language and as such it reflects society on numerous levels.[35] Discourses of gender, nation and titles permeated Victorian reviews. Gendered commentary regarding women musicians was particularly prominent. Such language took one of two forms; either a woman's femininity was upheld, and therefore it detracted from her credibility as a professional musician, or women musicians' masculinity (especially pianists'), would indeed be a compliment to the performer's success and strength. Like all

---

[34] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: a social history* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 16.
[35] Paul A. Bové, "Discourse," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 63.

musicians performing in public, however, prominent performers received both positive and negative reviews depending on the performance and the critic.

Physical and musical descriptions of pianists occasionally referred to the performer's masculine attributes and the masculinity of their playing. In a review of Clara Schumann's 1856 Viennese concerts critic Eduard Hanslick praised her performances in saying, "in what she does play she rather shames the brilliant virtuosi of our time, by the masculinity of her playing."[36] Further on in the review he clarifies his definition of masculinity in more detail with respect to Schumann's playing: "There is nothing effeminate and retiring, nor any over-abundance of emotion. Everything is distinct, clear, sharp as a pencil sketch."[37] For Hanslick, although Schumann was female, she did not exhibit the characteristics of her sex—effeminacy and emotionality—but displayed clarity and sharpness associated with the mind and reason—masculine attributes. Schumann made her English debut in the same year, and went back repeatedly.[38] Society's discourse regarding gender, a discourse which permeated every level of society, was also prominent in English music reviews, as I explore further below.

One journalistic practice merits particular attention: the ascription of titles of nobility to artists. While it may be tempting to dismiss this usage as a conventional and therefore insignificant commonplace, in the context of female musical activity in Victorian England it proves to be a subtle but powerful

---

[36] Eduard Hanslick, *Vienna's Golden Years of Music 1850-1900*, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants III (New York: Books for Library Press, 1950, 1969), 42.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 276-78. Although Reich discusses Schumann's reception in England, she does not mention Schumann's performances before Queen Victoria as a significant part of her English concert tours.

gesture. This is clearest with the most common of these titles, 'Queen of Song' or 'Queen of the Piano.' In the context of a kingdom ruled by a widely admired woman, the term could connote a powerful, confident, and commanding presence—an alternative to masculinizing that helped legitimate women's public achievement. Because such use of the epithet 'Queen' seems to be unique to England at this time, its implicit association with England's female monarch is the stronger. Linked in title to Queen Victoria, musical 'Queens' reflected the symbolic power of the monarch, rooted in Victoria's own cultural, social and political power. Musical queens in their realms of the stage and concert hall, this usage implies, held the same power on a smaller scale.

Gendered Reviews

Despite the seemingly neutral stance on gender taken by the dailies and periodicals, subtle wording in reviews demonstrate different ways male and female musicians were written about in the press and how they were perceived in and by society. Female musicians would either be compared to men in order to confirm their competency or they would be ranked among the most highly respected musicians with the gender caveat of 'the best female pianist' or 'among the first rank of players aside from men.'[39] There was no equivalent for male musicians, since they were compared to both male and female musicians with no limitations because of their sex. Male musicians were classified by reviewers as

[39] For additional musicological literature regarding journalistic criticism of female musicians see Katherine Ellis, "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50/2-3 (1997): 353-285.

either weak or strong solely on the basis of their performance, not their sex or private life.

Occasionally the more famous of the female performers could be represented as surpassing the limitations of their sex by using the term 'genius' to describe their playing, while their lesser-known sisters bore the brunt of showcasing their sex's limitations. Arabella Goddard, student and niece of the Queen's pianist Lucy Anderson, serves as an example of the struggle of lesser-known musicians. In a review from 1856, Goddard, like a respectable woman, subordinated herself to the composer's vision, according to the critic: "It was the master who spoke to us, from first to last—*not* the pianist, who, modest and retiring, was too happy to shine by the reflection of so great a light."[40] In this performance of a Mozart concerto, then, she is described as channeling the composer's artistic vision, while still conforming to the qualities of a proper woman. Ideally all performers were expected to project the composer's work, however, virtuosos typically added notes, changed chords, and used the score as a guide rather than a firm text.[41]

Prominent male performers, who were often composers as well, were accustomed, (and even expected) to challenge the composer's supremacy and often were only mildly criticized when they did so.[42] The composer/performer most frequently taken to task for this was Franz Liszt. At a fashionably attended

---

[40] "Reviews: Miss A. Goddard's Concerts," *Times* (London), 17 May 1856, p. 5; Issue 22370, col F.

[41] Nancy B.Reich, *Clara Schuman: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), 281.

[42] Male performers in this category include, but are not limited to, Franz Liszt, Sigismund Thalberg, Henri Herz, Johann Peter Pixis.

concert at Willis's Rooms in London in 1840, special mention is made of Liszt's programme and his reputation for altering composers' scores:

> The programme contained the names of Handel, Rossini, and Beethoven, as if to refute the often-repeated but unjust opinion that the great pianist excels only in the performances of his own compositions or of those in which mechanical dexterity of execution is the chief characteristic. His performance commenced with Handel's fugue [sic] in E minor, which was played by Liszt with an avoidance of everything approaching to meretricious ornament, and indeed scarcely any additions, except a multitude of ingeniously contrived and appropriate harmonies, casting a glow of colour over the beauties of the composition, and infusing into it a spirit: which from no other hand it ever before received. The next piece was the overture to *William Tell*, which brought all the performer's power at once into action. In this overture, as in the fugue, Liszt with exquisite taste and tact confined his additions to the harmonies…"[43]

Liszt's programme is praised for its inclusion of great masters (Haydn and Beethoven) and fashionable opera (Rossini). This diverse programme was typical of Liszt's concerts, although he was often criticized for neglecting standard repertoire in favour of his own compositions and transcriptions. Of particular interest in the above discussion on faithfulness to a composer's score are the comments regarding Liszt's embellishments. The reviewer astutely notes that Liszt improved Handel's fugue and Rossini's overture with additional harmonies not indicated in the scores. Fortunately for Liszt this reviewer found such embellishments pleasing; they could have easily been found unacceptable as indicated by the reviewer's reference to "meretricious" ornamentation. Liszt was

---

[43] "Liszt's Recitals," *Times* (London), 2 July 1840, p. 6; Issue 17399, col F.

certainly not channeling the composer, but rather highlighting his performative skill of improvising.

Both Goddard's and Liszt's reviews have a positive tone, however, a key difference is Goddard's gender, which predisposes her to adhere to the composer's wishes, while Liszt's allows him to experiment. Most likely the reviewer did not intend to detract from Goddard's performance. However, dismissing or qualifying a woman musician's talent in comparison to male musicians was a mode of undervaluing women's musical contributions. Their recreative work was inferior to the creative work of the genius-artist-composer. The same gendered language would likely not have been used for male virtuosos, but male virtuosos were sometimes criticized for *not* letting the composer dominate a performance. A review of Sigismund Thalberg's concert in the same venue as Liszt's, though in 1842, addresses this issue without mentioning a specific composer:

> [l]ike all performers who have chiefly aimed at exciting the astonishment of their auditors, he must go on in the same course. Every musician desires to hear from such an artist something higher and better than this; but they will wish in vain. Thalberg's performance of any classical composition for his instrument would not be appreciated by the crowd, who assemble not to be delighted but surprised—to marvel how a man with no more than the usual quantum of fingers can play so many notes in a given time. His playing, of course, was all of a kind to satisfy this craving, and it accomplished its end. The same arpeggio flights were successively exhibited on airs from *La Sonnambula*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and *Semiramide*.[44]

---

[44] "News: M. Thalberg's Concert," *Times* (London), 16 May 1842, p. 5; Issue 17981, col E.

Not only is this review a criticism of Thalberg's style of playing and composition, it is an attack on virtuosity itself and the Romantic style of the nineteenth century. At the same time, Thalberg is represented as a victim of the public's taste for spectacle. Even if Thalberg had wanted to play classical compositions, the audience, familiar with Thalberg's showmanship, would not have allowed it (at least the bulk of the audience—not the true connoisseurs or musicians). Likewise, Lizst, the most virtuosic of virtuosos, also received criticism regarding his rendition of other composers.

These examples raise a larger metaphorical issue: performance as itself feminized in relation to (masculine) compositional creativity. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, music, musicians, and instruments were generally feminized; "keyboard instruments were commonly, if not universally deemed feminine."[45] In order for Liszt and other male virtuosos to compensate for this association and affirm their masculinity through their performances, they sought to embody such metaphors as machines, military leaders, and heroes.[46] In addition they needed to demonstrate the same masculine abilities as (male) composers—improving upon the score as they were inspired, thus displaying genius.

As with many other concepts, the discourse of genius in the nineteenth century was divided to reflect gender divisions. During this time, the rhetoric of genius "fed upon (and gave new life to) an earlier tradition of writing about sex

---

[45] Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles: Three Hundred years of life with the piano*, ed. James Parakilas et al. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 279.
[46] Ibid., 272-279.

difference that condemned women to cultural and biological inferiority."[47] As Toril Moi suggests, this concept of biological determinism regarding sex "grounds and justifies social norms;" women were incapable of escaping their biologically determined faults and merits.[48] The argument ran this way: where were the female Beethovens or female Shakespeares, if women were capable of the same creative and intellectual feats as men? Given men's privileged position with respect to education and opportunity, recognized women geniuses had been relatively few and far between throughout history.

With respect to music, a late nineteenth century sexual psychologist, Havelock Ellis, considered women's potential for genius in the field of music. Music was one of the few areas where, according to Ellis, women had nearly equal advantage to men, and women were therefore naturally attracted to this field because of their emotionality; yet in no other field had they showed themselves more helpless because of that emotionality; women musicians could not control their emotions the way male musicians did.[49] Therefore, they could only project their emotions, not those demanded by the composer and piece. It was possible, however, to read the concept of genius in a way that was more amenable to including women: for the Romantics the term was used to "*describe* a type of creative personality. But this was to dress up *evaluation* as description.

---

[47] Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 5.
[48] Toril Moi, *What is a Woman?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 20.
[49] Flavia Alaya, "Victorian Science and the 'Genius' of Woman," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38/2 (Apr-Jun. 1977): 274.

A genius is judged valuable in terms of what s/he added to the traditions of art and the history of culture."[50]

Accordingly, women musicians could be considered geniuses if they contributed value to the traditions of music. Intelligent interpretations of composers' works allowed them entry into the canon of genius. With their virtuosity and power, women musicians' vibrancy and passion for music created the demand for their own careers. In this cyclical relationship, the nineteenth-century's reputation as the 'golden age of the diva'[51] and the popularity of the 'lady pianist'[52] made it a fruitful time for women musicians to contribute to musical practice. In the nineteenth century press, genius was a rare adjective for women musicians, yet it occasionally surfaces in reviews of women performers. Perhaps the best argument in favour of women geniuses comes from Dinah Maria Mulock Criak writing in 1857:

> Most people will grant that no great gift is given to be hid under a bushel; that a Sarah Siddons[53], a Rachel[54], or a Jenny Lind, being created, was certainly not created for nothing. There seems no reason why a great actress or vocalist should not exercise her talents to the utmost for the world's benefit, and her own; nor that any genius, boiling and bursting up to find expression, should be pent down, cruelly and dangerously, because it refuses to run in the ordinary channel of feminine development. But the last profession [public entertainer] of the four which I have enumerated as

---

[50] Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 10.
[51] Susan Leonardi and Rebecca A. Pope, *The Diva's Mouth: body, voice, prima donna politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 43.
[52] A term first used in the *Times* (London) in 1846 in reference to Clara Schumann. "Musical Intelligence—Leipzic [sic]," *Times* (London), 10 December 1846, p. 5; Issue 19416, col C.
[53] Considered the leading actress of her generation, English actress Sarah Siddons worked in the theatre from 1775 until 1812.
[54] Rachel was the stage name of Elisa Felix. Also regarded as the best actress of her day, the popular French actress appeared on stage from 1838-58.

> the only paths present open to women, is the one which is most full of perils and difficulties, on account of the personality involved in its exercise.[55]

As a defender of women's genius, Craik acknowledges the hardships that awaited talented women, difficulties male geniuses seldom encountered, because male genius was expected.

Performing in public and gaining acceptance for performing in public were certainly large hurdles to overcome, yet as the reviews below demonstrate a favourable outcome was possible, even if few published reviews took as liberal a view of the concept of genius as Craik. Women musicians were both fascinating and distasteful to the public, and Battersby describes the more conventional result: "the creative woman was an anomaly that simply introduced complications into the patterns of exclusion. A woman who created was faced with a double bind: either to surrender her sexuality (becoming not *masculine*, but a surrogate *male*) or to be *feminine* and *female*, and hence to fail to count as a genius."[56] The gendered language of the following reviews mirrors this paradox, which women musicians constantly faced. Nonetheless, it is worth reiterating that the term *was* used for particularly talented women singers and instrumentalists, without the qualification of "women genius" or "English genius." In that respect, it had potential to serve as a category beyond gender and nation.

---

[55] Dinah Maria Mulock Craik, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 57-8. Craik's other professions open to women were: the instruction of youth, painting or art, and literature.
[56] Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 3.

Genius took many forms in the Victorian press. The most common and unremarkable use of the term described the genius of a composer. At a Philharmonic Society concert in 1841 a towering composer's genius is recounted:

> Beethoven's symphony [No. 5 in C minor] is a composition of the very first class, noble in the simplicity of its themes, and displaying this greatest genius in the working out of ideas. The band played it excellently, and the audience, led sensibly through the development of the idea in the last movement, were roused into enthusiasm at the magnificent conclusion.[57]

While the orchestra's performance is strong, it is the piece itself, and hence its composer, who infuses the performance with genius. Here, the interpretation illuminates the composer's genius through his work.

Genius as it pertained to performers was used less often and seems to have been equally divided between male and female performers. Genius had no consistent meaning in such cases, and was used at the discretion of the reviewer. No reputation was necessary to merit genius, nor once it was given did it have to remain. In a review of an unknown brass player in 1836, genius proves to be a fleeting quality:

> A Mr. Derwort, of whom the town never heard before, ventured last night on the novel and somewhat bold experiment of a concert sustained entirely by music of "his own composition." Mr. Derwort's genius takes as wide a range as that of the strolling players described by Polonius; from the "grand symphony" down to the simple air, or, a still lower descent, an "overture for two guitars," he exhibited a truly Protean variety....But Mr. Derwort unfortunately has no musical ideas of his own, and cannot even

---

[57] "Philharmonic Society," *Times* (London), 18 May 1841, p. 6; Issue 17673, col C.

> contrive to string together in a consistent manner the ideas of other people. His favourite instrument is the horn, which took the lead in several of the pieces, but nearly in the same strain in all of them.[58]

Still speaking of the genius of the composer, the reviewer's ironic use of genius to describe Derwort's music is uncharacteristic, but nonetheless informative. Derwort's compositional aspirations mirror those of geniuses like Beethoven and Mozart, yet in his execution he falls decidedly short.

Generally speaking, when genius was used to describe their performances women musicians fared far better than Derwort. However, interpretive genius was still subsumed by the genius of the composer. Such was the case in a review from 1837 for an Italian soprano in Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro*:

> Madame Gionnoni, as the Countess, sang 'Porgi amor' and 'Dove son' with the utmost truth and delicacy. This lady has always given signs of genius; her singing and acting, though occasionally defective, have displayed touches which evinced talents far above the common; but it was not till Saturday that we knew she had a mind fully capable of entering into Mozart's music, and delivering that music to perfection.[59]

Genius did not have to mean perfection, but it did mean possessing superior skills. That the reviewer relates the mind to genius here is telling. Acting as it pertained to women and genius "required a capacity for little more than emotional sympathy and 'imitation.'"[60] Giannoni, however, engages her mind to provide more than a mere imitation. Still, her mind unlocks Mozart's genius in her interpretation.

---

[58] "Hanover-Square Rooms," *Times* (London), 31 May 1836, p. 4; Issue 16117, col G.
[59] "Lyceum-Opera Buffa," *Times* (London), 13 February 1837, p. 7; Issue 16338, col C.
[60] Alaya, "Victorian Science," 274.

Women pianists almost surpassed gender as it related to genius. The celebrated Camilla Pleyel received high praise following a crowded concert in Willis's Rooms during the 1846 season:

> Madame Pleyel combines the extraordinary manual dexterity of the greatest modern pianist with a poetry of expression and an intensity of feeling that few of them can boast. Her tone is pure, round, and agreeable, her touch elastic, and her execution of scales and arpeggios astonishingly brilliant, certain, and equal…In short, there is no fault to find with her mechanism, which is equal to that of any of the great performers of the day. On the other hand, there is far more beauty and variety in her style than is generally met in pianists of the present school….But the great triumph of Madame Pleyel was the song of 'Gretchen am Spinnrade,' in which Schubert has so admirably expressed the simple but deeply impassioned poetry of Goethe. Nothing can be beyond the sentiment of Madame Pleyel's interpretation, in which the very depths of human sorrow were sounded, and every bead in the chaplet of anguish and dejection told with the simplicity and truth of genius. In the mere execution it was equally beyond praise.[61]

Unlike reviews below, where women pianists' gender was used as a limitation to their executive and interpretive talents, Pleyel's interpretive genius is left uncontested and unrivalled. It is not entirely clear, however, whose genius is referred to; Goethe's, Schubert's and Pleyel's genius become melded together in Pleyel's performance. In terms of interpretation, genius is above gender, but although the reviewer does not overtly criticize Pleyel's gender it does not mean

---

[61] "Madame Pleyel's First Recital," *Times* (London), 20 May 1846, p. 5; Issue 19241, col E. For additional reviews that describe women as geniuses see "Miss Adelaide Kemble," *The London Saturday Journal* 3 (Saturday, February 5, 1842): 62; "Our Musical Corner," *Eliza Cook's Journal* 7/163 (Saturday, June 12, 1852): 111; "Miss Louisa Pyne," *The London Journal* 26/671 (January 2, 1858): 285-6; "Musical Union," *Times* (London), 22 April 1852, p. 5; Issue 21096, col F; and "Madame Pleyel's Concert," *Times* (London), 21 May 1852, p. 8, Issue 21121, col E.

that no criticism is present. Interpretation, after all, is still a recreative act; Pleyel is foregrounding Schubert and Goethe's genius for the audience, and thus not finally disrupting a hierarchy that privileged male creativity. The focus in the first few lines quoted here points to this careful shading of gender. Pleyel's virtues as a pianist are discussed at length; her tone, manual dexterity, touch and technique are highly praised; however, these are attributes that all professional pianists should possess. Because the author takes the time to mention them each individually the reviewer may have felt that women pianists were not expected to possess these characteristics. Finally, the reviewer's choice of focusing on Pleyel's interpretation of Gretchen am Spinnrade as the high point of her performance may also be gender-conditioned. The text of the Lied by Schubert, as described by the critic, is impassioned, yet simple; two characteristics ascribed to femininity, and the song is the emotional outpouring of a distraught girl. Pleyel's rendition of this Schubert song is an apt choice, then, given her limitations as a female pianist. Though her gender is not specifically criticized in this review, limitations because of her gender is still present between the lines.

Other reviews are less subtle. Although women musicians were not criticized in the press for appearing in public, there was nonetheless a distinct gender bias between male and female pianists. This bias adversely affected only women pianists, and even the most famous pianists of the day could not escape it. Clara Schumann, of the same caliber as Liszt, Thalberg, Mendelssohn, and Chopin,[62] could not always escape the qualifier of 'lady-pianist.' A review of Clara Schumann's performance in Germany in 1846 was reprinted in England,

[62] Reich, *Clara Schumann: the Artist and the Woman*, 111.

and spoke of her shortcomings because of her gender: "Madame Schumann (late Clara Wieck), the wife of Dr. Schumann, played Beethoven's 4th concerto for the piano at the same concert, and supported her reputation as the greatest lady-pianist in Germany."[63] Her impeccable musical, and for that matter social, reputation was not enough to supercede the limitations of her gender at a time when divisions along gender lines were beginning to blur.

A further example from 1856, the year of Wieck-Schumann's debut in England, shows the persistence of this gender bias:

> She [Clara Schumann] was acknowledged to be the most admirable performer of her sex in the whole of that very musical and metaphysical country [Germany]; and, what is still more to her credit, has retained her position undisputed ever since. . . We have never yet heard a lady play the D flat concerto of Beethoven entirely to our satisfaction; nor, so far as the opening movement is concerned, can Madame Schumann be said to have broken the spell.[64]

Clara Schumann, then, is the best woman pianist from Germany, and that is her limitation, as she cannot perform the Beethoven concerto in any other way than as a woman. The underlying subtext is that male pianists *do* (or at least can) play the piece to the reviewer's complete satisfaction. It is impossible, according to this anonymous reviewer, for a woman to satisfy the demands of Beethoven's concerto. This was a typical attitude in the nineteenth century that had existed since Beethoven's time. Beethoven's music and performance style were at odds

---

[63] "News: Musical Intelligence—Leipsic [sic]," *Times* (London) 10 December 1846, p. 5, Issue 19416,col C.
[64] "Reviews: Philharmonic Concerts," *Times* (London), 15 April 1856, p. 10; Issue 22342, col E.

with the accepted standard of women's pianistic performances.[65] As Tia DeNora suggests for another female pianist in the early 1800s, by 1856 Clara Schumann's performance of Beethoven in public was more acceptable because at her age and with her career firmly established Schumann was past the time when she had to conform to societal notions of femininity, although for this reviewer she falls decidedly short.[66]

Performers of Clara Schumann's caliber could still succeed, despite such gender-biased reviews. Despite her 'limited' capabilities as a 'lady pianist,' she traveled from one triumph to another all over Europe. But struggling performers who had not achieved her level of success also had to persevere despite such dismissive and deflating reviews. A less-remembered but once popular naturalized English pianist of the day, Madame Louise Dulcken,[67] also received ambiguous praise in 1836: "Madame Dulcken's performance on the pianoforte claims the first notice. This lady is unquestionably the first pianist of the day, Moscheles excepted. We know no performer of the other sex who is superior to her in certain qualities."[68] The first line is promising until in the second sentence the reviewer, who has just named her the first pianist of the day, qualifies this to mean the first lady pianist of the day, because Moscheles remains the best. This is high praise, but Dulcken's gender may have been the barrier stopping her from

---

[65] Tia DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna," in The *Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 191.
[66] Ibid., 194.
[67] Sister of Ferdinand David, Louisa Dulcken settled in London in 1828. She is most recognized for her performances as a soloist with the Philharmonic Society, but she also listed among her pupils Queen Victoria, as well as numbering among Ignaz Moscheles's friends (Rosemary Williamson, "Dulcken, Louise." *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed October 19, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com>
[68] "Reviews: Morning Concert," *Times* (London), 3 May 1836, p. 5; Issue 16093, col F.

surpassing Moscheles. Although the reviewer concedes Dulcken superiority to most male pianists in a number of areas, she remains unable to be accurately compared because of her gender and its limiting nature. Still, finishing second only to Moscheles is an impressive compliment. The final phrase, 'in certain qualities,' can be read in two ways. In one respect it may represent a condescending tone: in other qualities men are superior. While she is a gifted pianist, she may only rise so far before her gender excludes her from competing. It is possible, however, that the mysterious 'certain qualities' that Dulcken possess were meant to be attributed to her exemplary performance of her own gender. Those qualities, then, were presumably those compared to Moscheles; as the review notes, her "touch and style resemble those of Moscheles in spirit and energy."[69] And in the difficult repertoire performed, the reviewer goes on to observe, Dulcken demonstrated incredible "power, especially in the left hand."[70] If superiority in touch, style and power are qualities that place Dulcken above the majority of pianists, the unnamed "certain qualities" in which she was superior are far less tangible; in this case, the review's implicit gendering may have worked to Dulcken's advantage.

In addition to the newspapers I have so far discussed, several Victorian magazines prominently featured music. In such writing, the gendered language that followed women pianists in the daily press continued. In 1846, for instance, Camilla Pleyel, whose ambiguously described "genius" was discussed above, was reviewed in a way that makes the issue of gender inescapable:

---

[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

> With a force and certainty which recall the best pianists in their prime, Madame Pleyel has still something of her own sex,—an elegance and fascination which place her apart from all men: and superior, we have no hesitation in asserting, to every other female instrumentalist we have hitherto heard. Her tone is sweet, clear; and never, even a *fortissimo*, harsh, or unpleasing…Her self-control (a very rare gift among women) is perfect. In short, we were surprised and charmed, more than we for many a day [have] been, by a new arrival.[71]

Although the review initially compares her to Liszt, whom the reviewer acknowledges as the first to coin the term piano recital, Pleyel's playing is marked in this excerpt as that of a woman. Because she is set apart from male pianists, ultimately she is confined to being the best female pianist in the field. Another limiting comment concerns her self-control. It is unclear whether the reviewer is considering self-control as an emotional or technical issue (or perhaps both), but it is clear that the issue arises strictly because Pleyel is a woman. The hysteria and irrational emotions associated with women, Pleyel among them, would have had to supposedly control their emotions if they chose to perform in public. Women's emotionality and music's effect on them were significant factors in their exclusion from public careers, so it is not surprising that the issue arises in considering an exceptional, publicly visible woman.[72] Technical self-control presents a somewhat different case; male pianists such as Liszt and Thalberg were often criticized for altering the score, as well as 'empty' virtuosity; perhaps Pleyel resisted the temptation to display such technical feats and improve

---

[71] "Music & the Drama: Madame Pleyel's Recitals," *Athenaeum* 969 (May 23, 1846): 530-1.
[72] Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: music, representation and the history of the body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 215.

upon the score. Liszt's and Thalberg's virtuosity and alterations could be interpreted as a lack of self-control and hence a feminine trait to be avoided; conversely, they may also represent creativity and therefore be considered a masculine trait. It seems that such traits could be interpreted either way, depending on the reviewer's perspective. The fluidity of evaluation evident in the above reviews suggests that reviewers used their writings to confirm cultural expectations, which were variable.

This sampling of reviews suggests that although there were no explicit discussions of women musicians' public presence, there was a general assumption that women performers did not merit the same type of praise as their male counterparts. Referring to a female performer's gender was an acceptable shorthand through which reviewers could imply her limitations to those who shared a common ideology of gender.

Singers and national identity

Women pianists, however popular, were not the primary focus of musical discussion in magazines and journals. The star-system of the operatic stage made female vocalists even more frequently discussed performers. With their fame came a number of stereotypes that added to their allure, but also raised doubts as to their propriety within British class and gender structure. Because opera had long required female singers, however, gender and the appropriateness of public performance were not contested in the press. Indeed, there was such a cult of intrigue surrounding female opera singers that their gender only enhanced their

cultural appeal. Vocalists were not without issues of identity, however. The primary matter confronting singers was their nationality, especially for English vocalists.

Because foreign musicians dominated opera companies even more than other aspects of English musical life, English vocalists were constantly being compared to their foreign counterparts. In this respect, the phrase "English singer" parallels that of "lady pianist:" English singers compared to foreigners always operated under the assumption of inferiority. It was a pleasant surprise for reviewers when an English singer was equal to or perhaps even better than a foreign prima donna. Such was the case for the up-and-coming English soprano, Louisa Pyne.[73] When Pyne successfully replaced Anna Zerr at the Royal Italian Opera as Mozart's Queen of the Night, a fictional royal character, her popularity was assured.[74] Finally, at least according to her critical supporters, English audiences had an English prima donna to worship. However, reviews of her performances are full of comparisons to foreign singers. When Pyne undertook the role of the Queen of Portugal in the Drury Lane 1858 production of Auber's the *Crown Diamonds*, put on by the English opera company that Pyne co-managed with William Harrison, her Queen Catherine was "judged from the point of view of vocal excellence, [and] has not been surpassed by any representative of the character, foreign or native."[75] Pointing out that no foreigner has surpassed her, however, only perpetuates the distinction between English and foreign

---

[73] Pyne (1832-1904) was at the beginning of her career when Queen Victoria's patronage of opera was at its height.
[74] "Reviews: Royal Italian Opera," *Times* (London), 16 July 1851, p. 8; Issue 20855, col D.
[75] "Reviews: Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times* (London), 9 November 1858, p. 6; Issue 23146, col F.

singers, despite praising this single, exceptional case. Pyne's portrayal of royalty is also significant. Convincingly representing a royal personage, Pyne likely invited comparisons between her character, herself, and Queen Victoria. Comments regarding Pyne's nationality continued to follow her throughout her career, but did not always consider her nationality as a limitation: "In parts of the very florid but invariably delicate and ideal music which Meyerbeer has allotted to his romantic heroine [the title role of *Dinorah*], the deservedly popular English songstress [L. Pyne] has no rival, at home or abroad."[76] Here Pyne's nationality and musicality is upheld as superior, albeit by an English newspaper.

Nationality was an issue for others as well. Much earlier than the example of Louisa Pyne, in 1838, Emma Romer's nationality was of concern: "Miss [Emma] Romer sustained the part of Cinderella with beautiful effect. Her powers of voice, correctness of judgment, and command of science, are such as place her very high in the first rank of English female singers."[77] This language is still gendered, but because of the distinction between male and female roles, gender here is less evaluative than the language that followed women pianists. Unlike Louisa Pyne, however, who grew to rival foreign singers, Emma Romer was only worthy of comparison to her English colleagues; to this reviewer, she did not challenge foreign vocalists in terms of supremacy.

In the absence of a more captive and supportive audience, Pyne and Romer had to supplement their incomes with other activities. Each in her own way tried to create a forum for English performers. Louisa Pyne co-founded the

---

[76] "Reviews: Royal English Opera *Times* (London), 18 October 1860, p. 12; Issue 23754, col D.
[77] "Reviews: Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times* (London), 6 October 1838, p. 5; Issue 16853, col A.

Royal English Opera with William Harrison to promote English opera composers and singers, while Elizabeth Romer directed the Surrey Theatre. The inability to sustain a career solely as a performer was an issue for most English musicians, regardless of gender. Pyne and Romer both came from musicians' families, and understood the precarious financial position into which they were born.[78] Many musicians kept two or three part-time positions to make ends meet. That these women were resourceful enough to create careers for themselves in management positions that were usually only reserved for men, says much about their passion for music and their strength of character, as well as their disregard for societal norms. In several reviews identifying these women as managers, I found no criticism challenging their management roles, but rather only appraisal of their operatic roles.[79]

Like the dailies, magazines discussed nationality rather than gender as an issue relating to vocalists, and with more space in which to explicate their point, music critics took the opportunity to more thoroughly consider a singer's nationality. Music critic Henry F. Chorley's writings were particularly concerned with England as a musical nation and with the lack of native talent heard and

---

[78] Pyne's father James was an organist and composer; Romer's brother was a music publisher and composer.

[79] "Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times* (London), 9 November 1858, p. 6; Issue 23146, col F; "Her Majesty's Theatre," *Times* (London), 18 May 1842), p. 5; Issue 17986, col B; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 21 March 1859, p. 9; Issue 23259, col F; "Miss Louisa Pyne," *The London Journal* 26/671 (1858): 285-6; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 25 October 1861, p. 7; Issue 24073, col F; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 19 November 1861, p. 12; Issue 24094, col B; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 25 February 1861, p. 12; Issue 23865, col B; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 24 October 1860, p. 9; Issue 23759, col G; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 12 March 1860, p. 12; Issue 23565, col B; "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 4 October 1859, p. 6; Issue 23428, col E; "Surrey Theatre," *Times* (London), 17 September 1853, p. 11; Issue 21536, col C.

appreciated on English soil. In the year of Victoria's accession, Chorley acknowledged the absence of English singers making their mark in London:

> To assist and stimulate these our native talents to their utmost exertion, we have had this year the first singers of Europe;--we have had Pasta, "The Queen of Terrors," and Schroeder Devrient, "The Queen of Tears" . . . and the brilliant corps of the Opera, whom it is needless to particularize, because independently of their gifts and graces, like their names, being household words to every musical ear, their peculiar position has permitted them to take no part in the entertainment upon which we have principally dwelt [Ancient Concerts and Philharmonic Concerts].[80]

Chorley characterizes these different singers' strengths. Rather than only refer to them as 'Queens of Song,' he lists their most prominent performing features. Unlike Pyne, who achieved the title of "queen" as a result of the role she was portraying, reviewers like Chorley named prominent vocalists and instrumentalists as "queens" because of their talent and celebrity status. At the more popular and remunerative opera houses, English sopranos were rarely listed among the various musical queens. (I return to the use of "queen" in reviews in greater detail below.) Conversely, these foreign stars were unable to penetrate the Ancient Concerts and Philharmonic Concerts because of the nationalistic leanings of the series.

The Ancient Concerts and the Philharmonic Concerts were two mainstays of English music-making. English and foreign performers appeared in each concert series; however, the concerts rarely offered pieces by British composers.[81]

---

[80] Henry F. Chorley, "Concerts and Operas," *Westminster Review* 27 (1837): 71.

[81] Cyril Ehrlich, Simon McVeigh, and Michael Musgrave, "London (i), § VI, 2: Music life: 1800-1945: Concert life," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed May 8, 2006),

The opera companies had a drastically different agenda. Since English audiences preferred foreign singers, opera companies hired the most prominent singers from the Continent. As a result, foreigners dominated this branch of the English music industry with only a few English singers managing to successfully negotiate the obstacle of nationality. That English singers were more prominently featured at the Ancient Concerts and Philharmonic Concerts was small comfort for struggling English singers.

Later in the same review, rather than continuing the discussion in general terms, Chorley specifically discusses a typical English soprano's situation:

> The appearance of Madame Albertazzi, the first English *prima donna* who has succeeded at the King's Theatre since the days of Miss Fanny Ayton's too short-lived glory, demands our notice. We have purposely avoided any extended personal criticism throughout the whole of this paper, or we might be tempted to state what we conceive to be the real value, what we imagine may be the future position of this charming singer—tempted to deprecate the mistaken and injudicious flattery which has promised her the crown worn by Grisi.[82]

Chorley's rhetoric is clever. He focuses on Albertazzi as a part of the lineage of English singers. But, after drawing attention to his avoidance of a proper critique of Albertazzi, he proceeds to reveal that Albertazzi is less than she has been made out to be by other critics and the public. Albertazzi may be good, but she is no Grisi, despite the offer of Grisi's crown. This example is sadly typical of the treatment of many English singers and musicians by their fellow countrypersons.

<http://www.grovemusic.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/shared/views/article.html?section=music.16904.6.2.1#music.16904.6.2.1>

[82] Chorley, "Concerts and Operas," 74.

Despite his concern for English musicians, he implicitly states her inadequacy. Even with a wealth of English talent, English musicians were essentially deserted in favour of more refined, more educated, and more popular foreign musicians.[83]

The division between private and public space as it related to these performers' lives was a fine line for journals. The public for which they were writing wanted plenty of details about artists' private lives, while artists wanted to maintain their privacy. Many of the women who performed for Victoria's court were considered to be as commendable in their private lives as in their public performances. The evidence was not only their charitable work and virtuous reputations, but also their roles as respectful wives and mothers. This was a definite shift in society's perception of women in public. Even the satirical periodical *Figaro in London* felt compelled to address the issue in 1838, early in Queen Victoria's reign:

> When females were first introduced on the English stage, prejudice was strong against the practice; and every means resorted too [sic] by its enemies and the fanatics of the time, to debase, and if possible to abolish the profession…
>
> The stage – providence be praised – can boast, as well it may, of very many women who are patterns of their sex, and well calculated by their 'private conduct,' to reflect the highest honour on their 'public station.' It matters but little the place they hold in their profession they alike adore it by their virtue, and grace it by their talent! Such women must ever command respect, and rank high in the estimation of the world…
>
> But it is not only the present period as connected with the stage that can lay claim to Actresses, whose virtues have been rightly estimated and honourably rewarded. 'Many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste

[83] Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, 16.

> its sweetness on the desert air,' and it has unfortunately been the lot of hundreds of good and respectable females to suffer – innocently to suffer the world's slander.[84]

In this telling quotation *Figaro* acknowledges the shift in social paradigm regarding women and public performance. Although presented in a satirical periodical, it nonetheless voiced the developing attitudes toward public women's private lives and virtues.

Henry Chorley, this time writing for *Bentley's Miscellany* also addressed the division between private and public spaces as it pertained to Pauline Viardot-Garcia. In an article that praised Garcia's European triumphs, he acknowledged Garcia's private life, in that her accolades go beyond the ephemeral nature of public performance and grace her private life as well. Chorley diplomatically neglects to discuss her private life, but rather focuses on her reputable qualities in a review from 1848: "[h]er [Viardot-Garcia's] other accomplishments belong to the Lady's private hours, not the Artist's public triumphs; and on the former it was agreed *in limine* that we were not to intrude."[85] In an age much like ours, where the lives of famous personalities were newsworthy, Chorley drew attention to the intrusion upon their private affairs. This, however, meant not discussing elements of her private life that could potentially harm her reputation. For example, Viardot-Garcia's extra-marital affair with Russian writer Ivan Turgenev certainly would have diminished her stature as a respected member of the stage and society; this relationship was not discussed in the press during her lifetime in

---

[84] "The Actress," *Figaro in London* 7/367 (1838): 115.
[85] Henry F. Chorley, "Madame Viardot [née] Garcia: a glance at the Italian Opera," *Bentley's Miscellany* 24 (1848): 40.

the sources I examined. A great deal of singers' lives were publicized or viewed by the public, but Garcia as a famous artist, and the sister of the much-lamented Maria Malibran, managed to keep her private life from prying eyes. Unlike Giulia Grisi, whose legal escapades and shady behaviour were well covered by the press,[86] Viardot-Garcia's and many other popular singers' questionable actions managed to sneak under societal radar. Despite her questionable reputation Grisi remained a popular singer, perhaps, however, at the expense of women musicians' reputations in general.

Escaping the confines of gender roles was next-to impossible. Yet, despite these limitations, female musicians continued to hold a central position in public and private musical life and the Victorian press. Women musicians acquired symbolic titles as a signifier of their symbolic capital in their culture. While their gender and nationality did not always gain them cultural capital, women musicians used other forms of capital in order to recover the losses implied by these disadvantages.

---

[86] Tom Kaufman, "The Grisi-Viardot Controversy, 1848-1852," *The Opera Quarterly* 14/2 (Winter 1998): 7-22 recounts the bitter jealously between Giulia Grisi and Pauline Viardot-Garcia, sister to Maria Malibran and daughter of vocal pedagogue Manuel Garcia. Grisi and her lover, the tenor Mario, were accused of unsuccessfully sabotaging Viardot's London appearances by Mario being conveniently indisposed to sing and Grisi singing roles that Viardot was to have appeared in. As Kaufman astutely points out, Viardot may not have been as innocent as she was made out to be in the press and Mario's indisposition were likely legitimate. (Kaufman 10) Grisi's other significant event involved her husband M. de Melcy and their deed of separation, not a legal divorce. Upon separation from her husband in an unusual instance where the wife was to financially support the husband, Grisi was to have paid him a portion of her salary for as long as she remained on the stage, yet she had not done so saying that as a result of the revolution the aristocracy had abandoned the Italian Opera "Madame Grisi and M. De Melcy" *Times* (London), 15 April 1851, p. 8; Issue 20776, col C). The court found for M. de Melcy and Grisi was made to pay the entire sum owed.

Singing in the reign:[87] *opera stars as 'queens'*

The title of 'queen' for certain women, as seen in Chorley's review above, became more common in colloquial language and the press, even though the term had been in use since Shakespeare's time. The title's use in so many different ways during Queen Victoria's reign may well be an indication of her influence on nineteenth century society. Considering Victoria's patronage of musical 'Queens' and the press's casting her in the role of 'Royal Actress,' which will be discussed in Chapter 4, the application of 'Queen' to women musicians was particularly apt. Despite the symbolic association, which had no direct connection to Victoria, the media's discursive association between Queen Victoria and the women musicians she patronized seems a logical one. As it was for her, the title was theirs for life. After their retirement from performance, female singers were still referred to as Queens of Song. However, unlike Victoria, theirs was clearly not a hereditary title; it was one that had to be earned and subsequently it was a signifier of symbolic and cultural capital bestowed by the press for the public. Like the recurring themes of gender and nation, 'Queens of Song' and 'Queens of the Piano' permeated the Victorian press.

During Queen Victoria's reign, 'queen,' especially as it relates to women musicians, was a signifier of significant musical power. To be a musical queen was to rule the stage or concert hall, in addition to being popular and well loved. It bestowed cultural significance and symbolic capital. Like Victoria, these

---

[87] I am indebted to Antonella Bilich for the title of this section. Ms. Bilich used the phrase 'Singin' in the Reign' in the title of her Master's thesis on participatory song in Catholic liturgy. See Antonella F. Bilich, *Singin' in the Reign: participatory song in the Catholic liturgy* (MA: McMaster University, 2000).

women commanded power and respect. But even in Victoria's case, the term was not a stable one. As Margaret Homans has noted, following Prince Albert's death in 1861, 'queen' as it was used discursively came to mean "someone whose public powers—whether direct or indirect—are subordinated to the exigencies of her domestic life; and someone who no longer fits her prior, public self-image."[88] During the first third of her reign, however, that public self-image, of a vital and active monarch, was far more apparent to her subjects.

Additional associations of the term were in use, though not linked with Queen Victoria, but speaking of women as queens in a metaphorical sense. The one that has received the most attention from scholars is the domestic queen of Ruskin's second lecture from *Sesame and Lilies*, "Lilies: Of Queens' Gardens," published in 1865.[89] Ruskin's lecture considered women's role in society, both championing their place in home life and advocating their education. In doing so, Ruskin called on women to exhibit their queenly power not only in their households, but upon "all within their sphere."[90] The possibility of women's education was a progressive concept, but keeping women within their sphere continued to advocate separated realms for men and women. According to Ruskin, woman is not the mere helpmate of man, but neither is she entirely independent from him.[91] Ruskin's appraisal of women focused on their superior morality as compared to men, a common ideal of the time.[92] In this way Ruskin

---

[88] Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 83.
[89] John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies, The Two Paths, The King of the Gold River* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1909), 1-79.
[90] Ibid., 49.
[91] Ibid., 50
[92] Ibid., 63.

both presents an opportunity for women's equality and upholds the contemporary view of womanhood, both idealized and carefully controlled. Despite Ruskin's positive and contradictory connotations, 'queen' also carried a less flattering association of prostitute, as could prima donna;[93] however, reviews and articles about female musicians did not adopt this tone.

Dailies and magazines alike adopted the use of 'queen' to identify the more talented and prominent female musicians. At French pianist Camilla Pleyel's London debut, her position at the top of her profession was quickly established: "It is extremely difficult, in writing of the efforts of genius, to find terms out of the conventional order to describe one's sensations."[94] Note again the rare mention of Pleyel's genius. Eventually the reviewer comes up with the unconventional term of 'Empress of *Pianistes*' to qualify Pleyel's skill. Well before Queen Victoria's promotion as Empress of India, Pleyel's title signified the skill, power and respect she commanded at her instrument. In 1852, a number of years after her English debut, Pleyel was still a powerful force, yet now she had been invested with the equally powerful title of queen:

> The triumphs of Madame Pleyel at the concerts of the New Philharmonic Society and the Musical Union, and at Dublin, were completed at her morning concert at the Hanover Square Rooms, on Thursday, in presence of a large and fashionable auditory, besides nearly all the musical celebrities, native and foreign, of the metropolis. It might have been called a Congress of Pianists, such was the number assembled to listen to their Queen of executants.[95]

---

[93] Duncan Crow, *The Victorian Woman* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1971), 220.
[94] "Madame Pleyel's Debut," *Illustrated London News* 8/212 (May 23, 1846): 338.
[95] "Madame Pleyel's Concerts," *Illustrated London News* 20/560 (May 22, 1852): 414.

Whether the musical celebrities were genuinely supporting Pleyel or measuring their competition, the size and quality of the audience lent credence to Pleyel's power over the concert-going public. Like Queen Victoria, musical queens could draw impressive crowds where they held court.

Musicians could receive the title for their talents alone, or it could make reference to a particular role and how effectively it was played. In one of Grisi's signature roles, Semiramide, her queenly nature was evident to a reviewer in 1847: "It has been universally remarked, that Grisi never sang more superbly, nor acted more forcefully. She was daring in her divisions, and dignified and impressive in her action. As she stood upon the throne in the last act…she looked every inch a Queen."[96] Since a number of operatic roles were regal, actresses and singers frequently adopted royal personas, which followed them even when they were not performing on stage.

Foreign artists were not the only ones to obtain the title of queen, although they might be expected to receive it more frequently because of their popularity. In an 1861 review, not only is English soprano Louisa Pyne referred to as a queen for her musical ability, but also with respect to her role: "Miss Louisa Pyne is 'Queen' in a twofold sense—'Queen' in her mimic capacity, and 'Queen' in her musically artistic supremacy."[97] Receiving the title of queen, then, was not entirely dependent upon musical ability, but sometimes also the singer's portrayal of a particular part.

---

[96] "Opening of the Royal Italian Opera," *Illustrated London News* 10/258 (April 10, 1847), 234.
[97] "Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 29 October 1861, p. 9; Issue 24076, col C.

Singers could be named queens in reference to their private as well as public lives. Such was in the case in a piece on the English soprano Victoire Balfe and Italian soprano Marietta Piccolomini in 1856:

> We do not wonder at this determination on the part of young ladies with fine organs and splendidly trained vocalization, to appear as paid performers, in spite of the objections of parents and friends. For what an enviable position is that occupied by Medemoiselles Balfe and Piccolomini—queens ruling over the hearts and sentiments of obedient and loving courtiers—regal before and behind the curtain.[98]

The first sentence raises an issue that I will develop further below: female bodily display and payment for it. Yet, this mid-century review actually defends these women's right to be paid for public performance. Although both Balfe and Piccolomini defied their parents' wishes in order to pursue public operatic careers, according to this reviewer, their defiance was not only understandable, but justified given their determination and talent. Of more immediate interest is the second sentence referring to their regal qualities in public as well as private life. Acquiring the title of queen could have as much to do with daily conduct of life as it did with stage presence. Like Louisa Pyne, Balfe and Piccolomini deserved the title for two reasons: their talent and their determination.

The physical aspect of being a musical queen should not be forgotten. All public musical performance drew attention to the body. As Richard Leppert writes, music's "aural and visual presence constitutes both a relation to and

---

[98] "Mademoiselle Victoire Balfe," *Reynold's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art* 19/476 (August 22, 1856): 50.

representation of the body."[99] Nineteenth century reviews of women performers frequently described the performer's physical attributes in addition to her effect on the audience.[100] Such evaluations may have perpetuated negative myths regarding theatrical women and the less flattering association of "queen" with prostitute. Because bodily display was one of the dangers of public performance, the voyeuristic desires of audiences were of great concern for women performers and audiences alike. According to Phyllis Weliver, myths surrounding singers' sexual allure and their bodies, in particular prima donnas, were most common:

> Instead of innocently exhibiting graceful, pure bodies to potential spouses, prima donnas were accused of using sex to advance their careers. Female singers were independent, performed outside the family structure, and willfully displayed their bodies to public eyes instead of passively receiving a suitor's desiring gaze under their mother's chaperonage at home. Yet while professional singers had more freedom than women living within bourgeois norms, they were still dependent upon male advice, support and backing.[101]

Although most of these women performed with propriety in mind, nonetheless their voices, bodies and lives were constantly on display and judged. Even the angelic Jenny Lind did not always escape the myths surrounding women singers. Her engagement to Claudius Harris, a captain in the Indian army, was broken in part because of his family's evangelical beliefs that upheld ideas regarding the

---

[99] Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: music*, xx.
[100] Sarah Webster Goodwin, "Wordsworth and Romantic Voice," in *Embodied Voices: representing female vocality in Western culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 68.
[101] Phyllis Weliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900: representations of music, science, and gender in the leisured home* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 55.

stage's immorality and that of its acting, actors and actresses.[102] As much as they may have wanted to succeed on the merits of their musical talents alone, their physical bodies and private lives contributed to their cultural capital.[103] How women musicians' sexuality and bodily display were perceived influenced their reputations. The majority of musical queens had sterling 'Angel in the House' reputations, or like Viardot-Garcia, were at least able to keep unpleasant gossip about their private life out of the press, or, like Grisi, to ride a wave of popularity despite a stormy private life. Talent was the ultimate measure of women musicians' careers.

As public figures, actresses and female musicians navigated a precarious balance in terms of their sex and reputation: "[a] woman who can be observed in public, or by men who are not related to her by ties of kinship or marriage, is considered in many cultures to be provoking attention to her sexuality."[104] Although these women ran the risk of being regarded as sexually available because of their public professions as actresses and musicians, Queen Victoria as monarch was emphatically not, and this is where the parallels between a political queen and the discursive use of queen end. However, Victoria's sex was still problematic since as a monarch "regal sexuality was often not so much denied or suppressed as incorporated into the iconography of power."[105] As a woman and Queen, Victoria's sexuality is evident in the figures of wife and mother, powerful

---

[102] Henry Scott Holland and W. S. Rockstro, *Jenny Lind the Artist, 1820-1851* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1893), 388.
[103] Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 139.
[104] Juliet Blair, "Private Parts in Public Places: the case of actresses," in *Women and Space: ground rules and social maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 211.
[105] Helen Hackett, "Dreams or designs, cults or constructions? The Study of Images of Monarchs," *Historical Journal* 44/3 (2001): 820.

images that implied sexual intimacy between husband and wife, but as both Ruskin's domesticated "queen" and the "Angel in the House" remind us, conventional Victorian ideologies obscured that implication with a desexualized concept of virtue.

Because she came to the throne a single woman, there was great concern for Victoria's marital status. Despite pressure from her Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, Victoria at first was content to remain single, rather than marry and produce an heir. Because of her status, at the beginning of her reign Victoria was sexually unavailable for any common suitor, yet her position and her pleasant appearance made her an object of fantasy for her male subjects, both elite and common.[106] Despite the contrasting associations of their very different positions, then, we arrive at another similarity between Queen Victoria and the era's musical queens: their public careers resulted in a display of sexuality, unacknowledged and to some extent beyond their control, but which nonetheless contributed to their power and allure. At the same time, however, propriety required its suppression or transcendence. In the words of Sophie Drinker, both Queen Victoria and the musical queens in her image had at once to intrigue men as well as "transcend[] sexual appeal and theatrical glamour and became great representative figure[s]."[107] The benevolence of their charity work, their solid

---

[106] David Duff, *Victoria and Albert* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1972), 87-89; Stanley Weintraub, *Victoria: an intimate biography* (New York: Truman Talley Books, 1987), 87-88.

[107] Sophie Drinker, *Music and women: the story of women in their relation to music* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1948; reprint, New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1995), 234. Though Drinker's book is outdated and she did not have the authority of a musicological background, musicologist Ruth Solie legitimizes Drinker's history as having "extreme originality and a wealth of information that was not then (and, for the most part, is not now) available anywhere else" Solie, Ruth A. "Sophie Drinker's History," in *Disciplining Music:*

reputations as mothers and wives (despite some inappropriate behaviour never reaching the public's attention), and above all their talent contributed to this effect. Perhaps sex symbols early on in their careers, by the time they had achieved queenly status a chaste maturity weighed upon their actions. The title that Queen Victoria "shared" with an elite of women musicians, then, implies a role at once sexualized and above sexuality.

The bestowing of the title of queen was certainly an honour, as evident in the examples from the press, but of course it carried no official ennoblement. There was, in fact, no official title to be had by female musicians until more than a decade after Queen Victoria's death. While male musicians were first knighted during Victoria's reign, women were left without any formal regal recognition of their contribution to music in the Empire. The Victorian press was the only entity to confer any kind of title upon women musicians. But the knowledge that the Queen supported and received such performers was a telling signifier to the public and lent further credibility to those who achieved the same metaphorical title in musical circles.

While royal epithets occur frequently in reviews for women musicians, male musicians rarely received such titles, and, when they did, they were not repeated in subsequent reviews. During his 1840 English tour Sigismond Thalberg, rumoured to have been the natural son of an Austrian prince, was referred to as 'Prince of Piano players.'[108] Ignaz Moscheles and Franz Liszt also

---

Musicology and its canons, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992): 23-43.

[108] Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: a social history* (New York: Dover Publications Inc, 1990), 383.

occasionally received this title, but it did not become their only moniker. Similarly an opera baritone, Giorgio Ronconi acquired the title 'prince of baritones' for attaining "the highest popularity this season by his loyal and artistic feeling."[109] But unlike women musicians who could become "Queens of the Piano" or "Queens of Song," there were no "Kings of the Piano" or "Kings of Song." For a female monarch to be outranked on the operatic and concert stages by musical kings would have been unthinkable. It may also have been perceived as disrespectful to Queen Victoria. So just as Prince Albert, Victoria's consort, was subordinate to his wife in terms of rank, certain women musicians outranked these male artists, despite the latter's fame and privileged gender position. With no king in England, the Queen and by extension musical queens, reigned supreme. Although musical queens did not possess political or social power equal to Queen Victoria, they had significant cultural and symbolic power comparable to hers. Like Queen Victoria they were positive exemplars for other women and became important representations of gender and power. Despite being subordinate in many other respects, then, women performers were more frequently recognized as queens because of Victoria's example and their association with her.

Conclusion

The private and public print criticism of women musicians considered in this chapter provides a more complete picture of women musician's reception by

[109] "Season of 1852 at the Royal Italian Opera," *Illustrated London News* 21/577 (September 4, 1852): 140.

nineteenth century society. Women musicians' prominent place in both Queen Victoria's journals and the Victorian press points to their significant location within society. The personal and professional types of writing acknowledge the ability of women musicians to overcome age-old stereotypes of impropriety and hold respectable positions within society. Their positive reception in these writings also challenges the surviving schemas regarding their acceptance in their own time. Queen Victoria's private criticism acknowledges the important place of women musicians within her court and public life. While music critics presumably had both literary and musical credentials, Victoria's musical education, patronage and close proximity to the musicians she wrote about qualified her as a commentator on their careers and activities. Queen Victoria's active interest for music and her status gave her the opportunity to interact with musicians, a situation that was less likely for journalists. However, journalists' professional distance meant that they were able to contemplate women musicians' talents supposedly without personal considerations regarding favouritism. In comparing these two forms of criticism, the personal versus public appraisal is significant. As readers of Queen Victoria's journal, not only do we get a critical appraisal of musical ability, we also get a glimpse, although biased, of these musicians as women. Journalistic criticism offers perhaps a more objective account of performances, but the personal aspect of the writing is more controlled. Interestingly, both Queen Victoria and the Victorian press uphold these women as legitimate and respectable ladies, despite the ideals of the age.

Chapter 4

Performing the Political: Queen Victoria's patronage and its societal influence

Not only was Queen Victoria's musical patronage important to musicians; it was also important in the larger context of society. Queen Victoria's musical patronage mattered to her subjects, who copied her likes and dislikes in an attempt to replicate her tastes. Her opinions and reputation were so important to society that she was considered a model woman, a woman whose actions and morals should be emulated by other women. At the same time her abnormal and unique political position was one that inspired feminists seeking emancipation in Britain. For those women she became a "woman worthy," a woman whose acceptance in a public position and social freedom other women were attempting to attain.

Because of her popularity and unique position, Queen Victoria has been kept as a "woman worthy," a feminist example of achievement by the terms and criteria of the particular user, throughout and since her reign. The term has been used as early as the seventeenth century when it was employed in the title of a book of poetry about women of excellence.[1] "Women worthies" are exemplars that show "what some women had done to what women could do, if given the

---

[1] John Golburne, *An Apology, in the behalf of Womans Excellency: Together with some Examples of Women-Worthies. As Also the Character of a Virtuous and Accomplished Woman: Wherein Ladies of Pleasure are taxed and admonished* (London: Printed for Henry Mortlock, 1674). This volume of verses praise Queen Elizabeth, the Queen of Sheba, Zenobia, Artemisia, Menalippe, Penthesile, Biblical women—Judith, Deborah, Esther, Mary Magdalen and the Virgin Mary, as well as the poems that more generally address womanly ideals in poems such as "Women-Worthies" and "The Character of an Accomplished and Virtuous Woman."

chance and education."[2] The tradition of "women worthies" continues to be part of women's history in collective biographies of historical women. Whether Queen Victoria's actions merited the title of "woman worthy" will continue to be debated because of her stance on women's suffrage, but her position was enough to acquire this historically important description. Her image was so pliable that she served as an example for a great number of women. Queen Victoria was an early icon of English feminism regardless of any direct connection to the movement itself.

In this chapter, I examine Victoria's musical tastes and her effect on audiences in her role as an example to her subjects. In addition, I focus particularly on her position as a "woman worthy" and her relationship to the mid-century feminist movement. Bourdieu's concept of a political field is pertinent to understanding both music's role in Queen Victoria's political world and her relevance to the politics of the musical world.[3] A field is a playing field, the space of a game—a "competitive system of social relations which functions according to its own specific logic or rules."[4] According to Bourdieu the concept of a political field is a "field of forces and field of struggles, aimed at transforming the relation of forces which confers on this field its structure."[5]

---

[2] Natalie Zemon Davis, " 'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," *Feminist Studies* 3/3-4 (Spring/Summer 1976): 83.

[3] In "Political Representation: Elements for a theory of the political field," Bourdieu defines political capital as "a form of symbolic capital, credit formed on credence or belief or, more precisely, on the innumerable operations of credit by which agents confer on a person (or on an object) the very power that they recognize in him (or it)." Pierre Bourdieu, "Political Representation: Elements for a theory of the political field," in *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thomson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 192.

[4] Toril Moi, *What is a Woman?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 269.

[5] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 171.

Within a field, agents seek to acquire power and dominance.[6] Political capital refers to a location, for example a seat of government, whereas the political field leaves room for an examination of an individual's actions within a field. Queen Victoria's presence at public musical events was a way to demonstrate and maintain her level of political power and dominance to her subjects. The press used the ideal of Queen Victoria's musical taste to assert her symbolic authority and power over her subjects. At the same time, the women musicians she supported were attempting to acquire if not dominance, then certainly enough power within the musical field that their professional and public positions would be recognized as legitimate. This was happening both individually and collectively in the case of the Royal Society of Female Musicians. Queen Victoria's association with women musicians, then, becomes a way in which they could acquire power in the political field.

Within each field, individuals are shaped by and act in accordance with what Bourdieu terms the habitus—the "internalized set of tacit rules governing the strategies and practices in the field."[7] These rules remain unspoken, but are understood by those who act effectively in the field. For instance, as we have already seen, for women musicians the fine line between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour ruled all their fields: in order for them to be socially and politically acceptable they had to conform to the Victorian ideal of the feminine while appearing in public. But the habitus also "carries the concept of history—

---

[6] Moi, *What is a Woman?*, 270.
[7] Ibid., 271.

both personal history and social, or collective, history."[8] Recognizing this dynamic and historical component of the habitus complicates and enriches our understanding of the field of publicly active Victorian women, demanding that we move beyond noting their conformity to a single feminine ideal, for by the mid-nineteenth century the 'woman question' had been a topic of interest for decades, and more and more women were actively seeking recognition for women's contributions to society. It is within this context that I will examine Queen Victoria's role as an ideal of womanly perfection in relation to women's musical activity, showing how her patronage of women musicians became a highly desirable commodity in the musical-political field.

Royal Example, Royal Taste

Queen Victoria's taste was a frequent topic of interest in periodicals, especially in the early days of her reign, when she was still relatively unknown by her people. This set an example for her subjects, not only confirming that it was still socially acceptable to attend the theatre (including opera) and concerts, but also visibly supporting British musicians:

> Her Majesty's example in visiting the theatres so frequently, has already produced a great deal of good, in giving *ton* to these, our national houses. Many have been induced in consequence to make parties at Drury-lane and Covent-garden, who of late years seldom dreamt of doing any such

[8] Steph Lawler, "Rules of Engagement: Habitus, power and resistance," in *Feminism After Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 111.

> thing. The court, however, having set the example, all classes will no doubt follow it.[9]

Just as the category of actress subsumed female singer, 'the theatres' for the Queen and critics included the opera. In the above excerpt, Queen Victoria's frequent presence gives a positive tone to the theatre and opera, one lacking before her patronage during William IV's reign. Her presence, the review suggests, also enticed others, who may not have attended previously to view the spectacle, whether that spectacle was the Queen's presence or the entertainment proper. It was also an astute move on Victoria's part to share public entertainments with her subjects. Her public appearances only increased her popularity and ensured her status as an icon.

Victorian writings concerning Queen Victoria's presence at the opera are of particular interest in relation to the distinct habits and tastes of various readerships. In many reviews during Victoria's reign, critics had to address two separate audiences, delineated by social rank: the upper and middle classes.[10] The division not only concerned the social status of two components of the audience, but also dealt with their expectations. In this way taste was the "practical affirmation of an inevitable difference" between classes and was used to assert status, class and rank in the public field.[11] The leisured class perceived opera as a place as much to be seen, socialize and conduct business as to enjoy a

---

[9] "Royal Visit to the Theatres," *Court Magazine, Monthly Critic, Lady's Magazine and Museum* United Series 1 (1838): 137. French for tone, *ton* refers to the positive influence Queen Victoria's presence has had on the theatre and its audiences.

[10] Jennifer L. Hall-Witt, "Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform: Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera in London," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 127.

[11] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 56.

traditional diversion. They also preferred the star singers to the music itself. This was in contrast to at least some middle class audience members, among whom were musicians, amateur and professional, as well as connoisseurs, whose listened attentively to the performance and deified the composer rather than the performer.[12]

Victoria's patronage and interests place her between the two categories of aristocrat and connoisseur. Aware that her behaviour was constantly being observed and was open to criticism, Queen Victoria's presence served various functions. Victoria was not at the opera to socialize, but there was a non-aesthetic component to her activity: her appearance there was beneficial to her position as monarch. On a personal level, though, as we have seen, she meant to enjoy the performance, and in this her approach resembled that of the connoisseur. This attentiveness to the performance differentiated her from the aristocratic class that she led, while it also associated her with middle class connoisseurs and musicians. As much as she followed particular singers' careers, she also preferred certain composers, which also allied her with those connoisseurs associated with the middle classes. At the same time, her presence was an assertion of aristocratic benevolence and the "dissemination of a particular class of conditions of existence."[13] Whether genuine or carefully negotiated, Queen Victoria's ability to appeal to various social groups only increased her popularity. Her attentiveness at the opera, then, not only separated her from the reputedly

---

[12] Hall-Witt, "Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform," 127.
[13] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 175.

frivolous and inattentive leisured class, but also, by virtue of her positions, signified differently than the attentiveness of other connoisseurs.

Along with Queen Victoria's attentive approach to experiencing the opera, court procedure also had a role to play in shaping mid-nineteenth century audience etiquette. Because the opera was a place to socialize and be seen, the audience was often loud enough to disrupt the singers' performances and annoy those who truly wanted to hear the opera, including Queen Victoria. At the State and private concerts held in her home the performances were the greatest consideration for the Queen. Although court etiquette dictated when to applaud, it was ultimately left up to the Queen to initiate or terminate her guests' response.[14] Likewise, in the opera house, Queen Victoria's personal reaction could dictate that of those observing her.[15] Whether Victoria's observation of court procedures carried over into the opera house, or her quiet scrutiny of the performance was deliberate, her example may have influenced audiences' experience of live performance.

Queen Victoria's presence at and her reaction to the opera and public concerts were well documented by the press. Given the prominence of the royal box, it would have been difficult to keep the Queen's presence a secret. When she attended in State the event was "carefully coordinated in advance by representatives of the Crown and the theatrical management. To assure a proper

---

[14] Budds, *Music*, 519.

[15] Viewing royalty and other important audience members is a survival of an old practice. See James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: a cultural history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 29-30.

reception for Her Majesty, such events were well publicized."[16] Sometimes, however, Victoria wished to attend the opera privately, without an official announcement and acknowledgment of her presence, and such appearances were also reported, despite her desire to the contrary. Less than three months after she became Queen, Victoria's attendance at the Royal Italian Opera attracted the press's attention:

> Her Majesty has been present several evenings at the performance of the Italian Opera, with the intention of remaining perfectly private, and we were happy to see that (although the attempt has been made twice), no ill-mannered people among the auditors on Tuesday endeavoured to draw Her Majesty from her seclusion. The Queen is much delighted by the Italian Opera, and nothing can be more objectionable than to interfere with so innocent an enjoyment, by compelling her to come forward and make her obeisance to the audience.[17]

The periodical from which this review comes was intended for the upper classes. As members of the privileged class, the readers of the *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic* would have respected the Queen's desire to attend unannounced or privately, since her appreciation of the opera was well known and emulated by the upper classes. Note too that this review makes no objection to the Queen's favouring an institution dominated by foreign performers. As we will see below, such choices did eventually incite a mild controversy, but the privileged readers of the *Court Magazine* were also likely accustomed to presuming the superiority of foreign musicians, and any such criticism would have fallen on deaf ears.

---

[16] Budds, *Music*, 274.
[17] "Court and Fashionable Intelligence," *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic* 11/2 (August 1837): 88.

Victoria's taste and influence continued to attract commentary from critics throughout her reign, especially with regard to orchestral music. Although Victoria remained far more interested in opera than in orchestral performances, Prince Albert encouraged her to attend what was increasingly becoming the more edifying entertainment, and critics credited Queen Victoria's good taste with favourably influencing the programme.[18] Such was the case in a review of the Queen's annual visit to a Philharmonic Society concert in 1851:

> It would be hard to produce a good reason why there should be no solo performance at one of our model instrumental concerts when the same is held "by command." To meet the wishes of Her Majesty—who, with finer taste than the majority of concert-goers, is understood to object to entertainments of too great a length—only five instrumental pieces were executed on Monday.[19]

The Philharmonic Society programme for this concert consisted of overtures by Meyerbeer, Weber, and Cherubini, Mendelssohn's Symphony in A, and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with vocal arias and duets performed in between the instrumental pieces.[20] The reviewer for the *Athenaeum* would have preferred a solo instrumental work; he mildly protests against a concert that does not provide enough variety of instrumental music, but he does not blame the Queen for this shortcoming. Instead, he credits her preference with the concert's moderate length; the Queen was known to detest drawn-out events, which were also frequently criticized in the press. The reviewer for the *London Times*, however, mentioned the Queen's more specific influence on the programme,

---

[18] Budds, *Music*, 325.
[19] "Philharmonic Society," *Athenaeum* 1227 (May 3, 1851): 483.
[20] "Philharmonic Concerts," *Times* (London), 29 April 1851, p. 8; Issue 20788, col E.

since he believed the inclusion of Mendelssohn's Symphony in A major was a result of Her Majesty's command.[21] Whether the Queen dictated the programme is unclear, but both reviewers notice the difference the Queen's presence made. At the next concert when the Queen and her suite were not present the audience heard two solos—one for piano and one for clarinet. Instead of an instrumental solo during the Queen's attendance, the audience heard three overtures instead of the habitual two.

Roughly a year later in the *Athenaeum* the length of the Philharmonic concerts was again discussed with respect to the Queen's taste, this time with the added consideration of the programme's content:

> That Her Majesty has a better taste in concert *programmes* than the generality of her subjects is evident from the agreeable length of the Philharmonic bill whenever the same is regulated "by command." We wish Her Majesty would wish to hear some new music—by Bennett, for instance, or by Berlioz, or by Gounoud—not to venture on the mysterious, and overcoming Schumanns and Wagners of "Young Germany."—These things observed and hinted, little remains to be said concerning the second *Philharmonic Concert*, at which the Court was present.[22]

The programme closely resembles the previous year's Philharmonic concert attended by the Queen. The first half of the programme consisted of Mendelssohn's Overture "The Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage" and Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony separated by vocal selections; the second half of the concert had two overtures (Cherubini and Weber), vocal selections and a

---

[21] Ibid.
[22] "Philharmonic Society," *Athenaeum* 1275 (April 3, 1852): 386.

chamber work for cello and bass.[23] The Queen's superior taste is again responsible for the proper length of the Philharmonic concert; however, unlike her last appearance at the Philharmonic Society where her refined taste was praised, this time it is not above criticism. The length of the concerts may be ideal, but the content needs improvement, as tactfully suggested by the reviewer. The reviewer does not criticize Victoria's lack of support for English composers, although he suggests the English composer Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875) as an example of the new music he would like to hear, but he wants contemporary composers included in the programmes, suggesting that at least part of the musical audience did not share the Queen's conservative taste.

The same concert brought a different response from the reviewer for the *London Times*, although he too called attention to Queen Victoria's influence on the programme; unlike the former review, however, this one was not content to dismiss the concert once the court's presence was noted. The concert's unusual number of operatic works, it notes, was due to the monarch's presence: "the Royal visit entailed upon the subscribers the loss of a symphony and an instrumental solo, which were compensated for by the addition of one beyond the ordinary number of vocal pieces. Nevertheless, although the programme's form was departed from, the selection was very good."[24] It seems the Queen's taste, although different from that catered to by the typical Philharmonic programmes, was more acceptable to the *London Times*'s critic than the *Athenaeum*'s. This may reflect the individual critics' views or those of the publication.

---

[23] "Philharmonic Society," *Times* (London), 30 March 1852, p. 8; Issue 21076, col F.
[24] Ibid.

As these examples suggest, the press scrutinized Queen Victoria's public musical activities closely, and the taste she revealed through those activities was subject to critical appraisal. Only very rarely, however, is there evidence of the Queen's own appraisal of those whom her actions were thought to influence. One such exceptional case, albeit a tantalizingly brief one, dates from relatively early in her reign. At an Ancient Music concert in 1844, Queen Victoria was surprisingly pleased with the audience's reception of the concert, although she still dismissed common taste: "The music had been most beautifully selected by Albert, & even the ignorant public (I must call them so, as their taste is generally so bad) were pleased."[25] Given Victoria's attentive eye and ear as a critic, it is not surprising that she was as attentive to the audience as she was to performers. What may be surprising, however, is the bluntness of her evaluation of her subjects' preferences; while at least some saw Queen Victoria as an example to her public at this point in her reign she does not seem to have felt her example to have had much effect, since according to her their taste was generally poor. Unfortunately, she does not elaborate on what led to this negative assessment. Ignorant means uneducated as well as rude, and it may have been their lack of musical education, or their behaviour at public performances that caused Queen

---

[25] RA VIC/QVJ/1844: 8 May. The programme began with "God Save the Queen" because of the Queen's presence. It was followed by a motet "Si iniquitatis" by Cherubini, an aria "Die nel mondo aver pazienza," by Mozart, a chorale composed in 1544 (no composer given) "O thou, whose love," a duet "Sancta Mater" from Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, a quartet by Graun, an aria by Pergolesi, and the first half ended with the chorus "He rebuked the Red Sea," from Handel's *Israel in Egypt*. The second half of the concert began with Beethoven's Overture from *Leonora*, and was followed by the aria "Fra caligini," from Handel's *Orlando*. Other pieces include Mozart's "Ave Verum," selections from Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, a quartet "See the rosy dawn is glowing," from Winter's *Das Unterbrochene Opferfest*, an aria from Grety's *Richard Coeur du Lion*, a glee by Webbe, and the concert concluded with Mozart's Kyrie and Gloria from *Service No. 12*.

Victoria to label them ignorant. At this concert, however, Victoria found their taste pleasing, likely because they approved of Albert's choice of music and thus of the concert in general.[26] Regardless of the success of Albert's musical selections, however, it is likely that it was the Queen's presence that caused the public's pleasure. Her attendance would have been known and likely caused an increase in the size of the audience, as well as accounting for the audience's favourable mood. Given the fragmentary state of the evidence, we will never know whether Victoria believed that she was responsible for developments in public musical taste like the one she approves of here. Nonetheless, the press's documentation of her personal taste through her attendance and patronage makes clear that she was thought to have an effect in establishing England's taste in musical matters.

From Good Taste to Bad: National Criticism

Whatever the general press perceived as the benefits of Queen Victoria's example, once the initial jubilation following her accession diminished, Victoria was severely criticized from the perspective of those who could suffer from a continuation of Victoria's cosmopolitan patronage of musicians of various nationalities—English musicians quickly made their observations known. Already in 1838, a short-lived but intriguing periodical, *Actors by Daylight*, took Victoria to task for her preference of foreign opera over English drama. Rather

---

[26] Victoria felt that Albert's talents were never fully appreciated, because he was a foreigner. Carolly Erikson, *Her Little Majesty: the life of Queen Victoria* (New York, NY: Simon &Schuster, 1997), 85. His involvement with the Ancient Music Society was his opportunity to publicly show his refinement, taste, and English loyalty.

than providing the typical puff piece about the Queen's presence, the journal criticized Queen Victoria for her frequent visits to the opera and her apparent lack of interest in national drama and music:

> It is a source of universal regret that Her Majesty's loyal subjects have as yet had so little opportunity of enjoying her presence at the English theatres, since her accession to the throne. We cannot refrain from expressing our full accordance with several of our correspondents as to the bad taste of these nightly visits of the Queen to the Italian Opera House, which is now exclusively patronised by her, to the great detriment of our own theatres. Her Majesty's love of music is the cause assigned for these visits; but, whilst we rejoice in her partiality for this delightful science (which we consider, of all others, the best calculated to elevate and refine our national character), we still think that the popular feeling would be better consulted, and the respect of her subjects more strongly secured by her studious patronage of English music.[27]

Appealing to a different readership than the serials that catered to the upper classes, *Actors by Daylight* meant to portray those in the acting profession as respectable by providing accurate biographies of theatrical stars, thoughtful reviews, and presenting their lives and careers in a positive manner. From the criticism of Victoria's absence from English drama, the article quickly moves to a discussion of the operatic repertoire she chose to patronize, and the bad taste and judgment she demonstrated by attending the opera so often. This criticism of the Queen's one-sided patronage of the Italian Opera reverses the interpretation of the *Court Magazine*. After listing a number of English composers the reviewer further criticizes the Queen's lack of patronage for English musicians:

---

[27] "The Queen's Visits to the Opera House," *Actors by Daylight and Miscellany of the Drama, Music, and Literature* 1/19 (July 7, 1838): 149-50.

> if we concede to foreigners their musical superiority, this is the very reason that ought to induce an English Queen to encourage and foster a taste for music in this country, which would hereafter lead to the most successful results, as there is no doubt that, of late years, vast strides have been made by English composers; but is the course so injudiciously pursued by our Queen likely to excite emulation or to stifle genius? We think the latter.[28]

Although the author unknowingly agrees with Victoria's low opinion of public taste, in the end he holds her responsible for stifling English genius. As England's Queen, Victoria should have made English drama, actors, composers and musicians a priority. Her poor judgment in supporting foreign composers and performers over English ones sets a dangerous example that in turn gets taken up by the public. For this reviewer, then, the Queen does no service to English musicians, despite her position as England's head of state.

One week later another discussion in the same periodical was even more scathing. After an introductory paragraph that refers to the previous week's discussion of the Queen's patronage the review turns to a comparison of Queen Adelaide, King William IV's consort, to Queen Victoria:

> Queen Adelaide—a foreigner by birth, education and habits—past the period of life at which active amusement may be supposed to have its greatest charms—was, during her consortship, an ardent friend to the English drama, as her frequent visits to our theatres will testify,—although in these praiseworthy acts she was subject to most unmerited and disgraceful insults from the populace. Now, "look on this picture and on that." Queen Victoria—whom we are taught to consider as "English all

[28] Ibid., 150

> over"—at an age when amusement may be expected to form her chief occupation, who receives the enthusiastic shouts of her subjects on all occasions when she appears in public—shuns the English theatres altogether....
>
> We know of instances in which our present Queen has exhibited her partiality for the Italian in so significant a manner as to surprise even those who knew her predilections best. At the Ancient Concerts (a series of musical performances held in the highest estimation, and under most exalted of patronage, at the Hanover-square Rooms) she positively refused to attend unless the service of the Italian singers were secured, for which purpose the permission of Laporte was obliged to be obtained, although the *élite* of the English vocalists are permanently engaged to give effect to the finest compositions of the old school... But this is not all. At the concert which usually takes place after a drawing room it was determined upon (reluctantly no doubt) to engage Phillips and Mrs. Sherriff, but, on presenting themselves at the palace, they were politely told by Sir Henry Wheatly, that "the arrangements of the evening did not admit of the director's availing himself of their services, but that the terms of their engagement would be complied with notwithstanding." So that our native vocalists were thus degraded to give place at *our English palace* for foreign *artistes*.[29]

Many topics converge in this criticism of Queen Victoria's patronage, the most obvious of which are nation and age. Although a foreigner, Queen Adelaide was the well-liked consort of King William IV. In the early years of Victoria's reign a comparison between her and Adelaide was inevitable, albeit unfair, since Victoria was queen regnant and not queen consort.[30] As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the

---

[29] "The Queen's Visits to the Opera House," *Actors by Daylight* 1/20 (July 14, 1838): 158-9.
[30] Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: the problems of female rule in English history* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 11. The role of consort and sex is an interesting one. As Prince Consort, Albert was disliked because it was feared he would attempt to usurp the Queen's power.

Duke of Kent's concern regarding Victoria's birthplace was well-founded; this article suggests that her birth on British soil is not enough to justify her Britishness, since she does not support her countrymen and countrywomen, but rather foreign musicians. As a further comparison between Adelaide and Victoria, their respective ages are also used as a means of criticizing Victoria's attendance at public performances: Victoria's repeated attendance at the opera shows a lack of maturity on her part, while the more diplomatic Queen Adelaide chose to support both English and foreign entertainments and performers. Another contentious issue also lies just below the surface of this critique however: repertoire and its implications. Not only does nationalism continue to be relevant in this area, since oratorio and opera had strong associations with England and Italy, respectively, but the choice of an "ancient" oratorio when contrasted with contemporary Italian opera, sets up a comparison of classic versus fashionable repertoire. In the emerging areas of a classical music canon and musical nationalism, Queen Victoria plainly did not set the fashion.

At the conclusion of the article the reviewer points out that Queen Victoria required all her ladies to wear dresses of British design when appearing at court. Accordingly, this "giv[es] an advantage to the Spittalfields weaver over the accomplished English musician."[31] While it is true that Queen Victoria requested her ladies to wear clothing made in Britain, the rhetoric of the article implies that she also requested all singers to be foreign. It took several years for

---

Although like Queen Adelaide he was also a foreigner, his sex placed him at a disadvantage since as a man his ambitions were believed to be such that he would want to take over control of England. As Queen Consort, Queen Adelaide's sex was innocuous, since she was subordinate to her husband.

[31] "The Queen's Visits to the Opera House," *Actors by Daylight* 1/20 (July 14, 1838): 159.

her to invite British singers to court, and her public attendance at their performances did not match the frequency of her trips to the Italian opera. In terms of industry and the court, British clothing manufacturers fared much better than musicians. The author ended his criticism promising additional information regarding the Queen's patronage of theatrical entertainments and her treatment of British actors and musicians remained a common topic throughout the serial's short tenure.

As *Actors by Daylight* entered its last few months in print, an author could not resist a final castigation at the Queen's patronage of opera when she attended a benefit night featuring the English actor Frederick Webster:

> The entertainments went off with great spirit, and the Queen appeared highly amused. May this visit prove the forerunner of very many ones during the season to our theatres. We have been told that her Majesty made a mistake, and that she intended to visit the Opera-house; but finding, to her great chagrin, it was closed, sooner than return home without going to the play at all, she popped into the Haymarket Theatre.[32]

After praising the Queen's attendance and hoping it will be a recurring event, the critic sarcastically reveals that the Queen's true destination was the opera. Because of her infrequent support of drama, the reviewer mockingly assumes that her presence can only be a mistake. Undoubtedly the Queen's patronage, or lack thereof, would have continued to be a contentious issue with the serial; however, it was discontinued because an illness forced the editor to seek treatment abroad. He intended to continue the periodical when he returned, but no further issues appeared after 1839.

---

[32] "The Opera-Glass: Haymarket," *Actors by Daylight* 2/47 (Saturday, January 19, 1839): 70.

Actors by Daylight had a particular agenda in criticizing the Queen because of its strategy of elevating actors and highlighting Victoria's role in shaping the nation's preferences. But even satirical periodicals joined the discussion regarding Queen Victoria's preference for opera. Written at the same time as the first example cited above from *Actors by Daylight*, and perhaps in response to it, an article in *Figaro in London* found no fault with the Queen's patronage of foreign singers; like the *Court Magazine, Figaro* found it a sign of her good taste:

> The Queen cannot speak, move, or scarcely think, without being subjected to a species of *surveillance*, which; if a coalheaver were exposed, he would be pronounced a shameful infringement on the liberty of the subject. If the Queen is in the habit of classing a foreigner among her acquaintances, it is broadly asserted that her associations are un-English. If a dustman were to take it into his head to stop and have a chat with the black crossing-sweeper, in Fleet-street, would anyone have a right to upbraid him for his *foreign partialities*? Certainly not! But if the Queen happens to say a word at a drawing room to a foreigner, an outcry is raised that her Majesty is not attached to her own country....The above cases are merely put to illuminate the hardship to which the Queen is subjected by the outcry that is raised against her because her refined musical taste and highly cultivated ear induce her to prefer the Italian to the English school of singing. There can be no doubt that even the best of our English vocalists are contemptible when compared with the splendid artists imported here from Italy, and it should at least be allowed to royalty to exercise the privilege, common to all its subjects, of chosing [sic] its own amusements. The singers are not of sufficient importance to make it a question of nationality—whether Italian or English singers shall be patronized by the Queen and surely her Majesty need not be bullied into

> suffering the infliction of the Rodwellisms sung by Collinses and other of the vulgar English school, while this country contains the glorious phalanx of foreign talent as it has for the last few months boasted. We hope we shall hear of no more of her Majesty's undue preference for foreign ability.[33]

Figaro, so often critical of the Queen's actions, this time defended her, asserting that her patronage was not a result of considerations relating to a performer's nationality, but of inherent talent. This supports Michael Budds's claim that her choice of performers was above national identity. Her preference for the Italian school of singing is not a reflection of foreign musicians' prestige or allure. The Italian school, and by extension the Italian singer, was generally known for its "beautiful visceral sound which excite[d] and thrill[ed] both the ear and heart."[34] Italian singing was emotional, whereas the English school of singing was perceived as being preoccupied with "perfect[ing] the vocal craft itself so that he or she can deal as effectively with musical demands of the literature as can any other instrumentalist.[35] If Italian singing affected the heart, English singing engaged the mind. Queen Victoria's preferences were for fashionable music, while at mid-century a growing number of listeners and critics began instituting a paradigm shift towards classical hegemony.[36] In this way Victoria continued to patronize soon-to-be outdated forms and fell behind in terms of musical preferences.

---

[33] "The Queen and the Foreign Singers," *Figaro in London* 7/350 (Saturday, August 25, 1838): 132.
[34] Richard Miller, *National Schools of Singing: English, French, German and Italian techniques of Singing Revisited* rev. ed. (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, Inc, 1977), 193.
[35] Ibid.
[36] William Weber, "From miscellany to homogeneity in concert programming," *Poetics* 29 (2001), 126.

Such kindness could not be expected for long from a periodical whose content often focused in a satirical manner on Victoria and her court. *Figaro*'s truce with respect to the Queen's patronage of the Italian Opera lasted for more than a year. Finally, *Figaro* could not resist the topic that had been frustrating the English theatrical and music industries since the early days of her reign. In 1839, in a discussion of the newly formed English Opera, the time had come to put *Figaro*'s unique spin on the Queen's lack of support of English theatre and opera:

> Notwithstanding that the business has been better than heretofore under [the] circumstances, it is not so good as it ought to be, or so good as it deserves—for the company is excellent, and every exertion is made by the management to produce good and effective pieces....If we look at the list of the company, we find it to consist of performers of first-rate talent, in every department; names, that independent of the intrinsic value of the pieces, ought to attract crowded houses but, alas! it is not the case. Even the queen, fond as she is of music, will not condescend to grace it with her presence, because it is the English Opera, when it was the Opera Buffa, she could go often enough, even as she does now to the Italian Opera, and to go to the Italian Opera is fashionable, and therefore the Italian Opera is always crowded because the Queen's there, and the English Opera is empty because the queen is not there, and the queen will not go because it is English. Therefore; the English artist may starve in a playhouse, or go to a union workhouse, while the Foreign Artist may live in luxury, ride in a carriage, and retire upon the bounty of John Bull, and all this is, fashion and the queen,
>
> "May she defend our laws,
> And ever give us cause
> To sing with heart and voice,
> God save the queen![37]

[37] "Theatricals," *Figaro in London* 8/401 (Saturday, August 10, 1839): 244-5.

For this reviewer the Queen's absence at the English Opera is enough to prove her bias toward foreign musicians. Queen Victoria could not possibly have been the only reason for the lack of success for the English Opera, but she was a prominent and easy target, since her attendance of the Italian Opera was well documented in the press and she was thought to set an example for her subjects. Her actions should inspire her subjects to sing 'God save the queen.' Ironically, however, by not supporting English singers, Queen Victoria is undermining the very possibility of her subjects' singing her their good wishes, in, of course, English. To be sure, there were no recognized standards as to whom the Queen could patronize in her leisure time, but *Figaro* implies that support of English drama is an unwritten duty that she is not presently observing, and therefore she does not give cause to her subjects to sing her praises.

Regardless of her preferences, Victoria must have known that she set an example for her subjects and that as head of state for Great Britain she was expected to support British interests; yet her patronage was repeatedly criticized for its foreign preferences. Although it is tempting to dismiss such cultural preferences as simply matters of conflicting taste, as Bourdieu has shown, "mere" taste is highly charged with social and political implications. Nor was Bourdieu by any means the first to recognize this link; under Victoria, the public display of taste becomes a matter of discussion at the highest levels of state, because the Prime Minister saw the necessity of England's Queen supporting native musicians. In a letter written in 1839, just a year into her reign, Queen Victoria sought Lord Melbourne's advice on attending concerts featuring English

musicians despite a lack of musical interest on his part: "But if Lord Melbourne thinks that as there are only to be English singers at the Ancient Concert, she ought to go, she could go there for one act; but she would much rather, if possible, get out of it, for it is a fatiguing time."[38] The previous paragraph of the letter details Queen Victoria's busy week: a party at Gloucester House on Tuesday, the Ancient Concerts on Wednesday, a ball at Northumberland House on Thursday, and her own concert at the Palace on Monday, in addition to political events of the week at which the falling of the government and the subsequent Bedchamber crisis were at the centre; Queen Victoria felt "it would be four nights of fatigue, really exhausted as the Queen is."[39] Still, despite this swirl of activity and her fears of fatigue and exhaustion, the only event she suggests removing from her schedule is the Ancient Concerts. And notwithstanding whatever advice Lord Melbourne may have provided, in the end, the Queen followed her own interests: according to the *Times*, she attended the party at Gloucester House and the ball, held her own concert and went to the Italian Opera on Friday, an event which she did not include in the letter to Melbourne. She did not, however, attend the Ancient Concerts. Although in this case Victoria apparently allowed her taste to override political concerns, she and Melbourne both recognized the importance of her presence at a concert featuring English performers. The Queen's attendance of the Italian Opera did indeed privilege it over the Ancient Concerts.

---

[38] Queen Victoria, Buckingham Palace to Lord Melbourne, 10 May 1839, in *Letters of Queen Victoria: a selection from Her Majesties correspondence between the years 1837-1861*, ed. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Escher, v. 1 (London: John Murray, 1911,), 168.
[39] Ibid.

Queen Victoria's appearances at the Ancient Concerts increased greatly after her marriage to Prince Albert and his subsequent involvement with that series. With Albert choosing the music and artists, it became Victoria's pleasure to support native talent. Her subjects followed suit for those concerts Queen Victoria attended, but even there Victoria eventually managed to impose her preferences, and her favourite artists, upon the audience: at a concert of 1840, for instance, "The Queen's presence secured the aid of the performers from the Italian Opera. Madame Grisi took a verse in the National Anthem, which she sang with great spirit."[40] That Victoria was able to impose her preferences on a musical society committed to the promotion of British musicians indicates the amount of power she held in social circles.

According to the attention she received in the press, Victoria was directly responsible for the public's awareness of and attendance at such events. She did not respond to the press's criticism; she did not invite English musicians to court until she was ready, but continued bestowing her patronage as she wished. The press and those working in the performing arts certainly considered her patronage or lack thereof a considerable influence on the public, her public presence made whatever she patronized the height of fashion, and in this indirect way she held considerable power in musical circles. It was how she distributed her social engagements that directly affected the social and artistic climate of England. As in her political life, in cultural matters the Queen was seen as a mere figurehead. Queen Victoria represented high fashion but had no direct control over the music industry aside from her private patronage and influence. This private patronage,

[40] "Concert of Ancient Music," *Times* (London), 30 April 1840, p. 5; Issue 17345, col D.

however, was still made public, and it was in this way that she shaped musical culture.

Not only was Queen Victoria a patron by example in her own country, but according to some reports, she also held sufficient power to influence the arts industries of other nations. In an 1856 report in the *London Journal*, a weekly publication aimed at the emerging middle class,[41] Victoria was given credit for attaining a prestigious appointment for a French actress during a visit to France:

> Mme Fleury has been elected a member of the Theatre Francais [sic], a rank much desired by French Actresses. The result is, by the gossip of Paris, attributed to the indirect intervention of the Queen. The young actress played, it is said, before Her Majesty at St. Cloud. No sooner did she appear in the scene than the Queen recognized her, and said to Prince Albert 'Do you see there that pretty little Fleury? I thought she had been to the Francais.' His Royal Highness replied that she was well worthy to be there from her talent. This conversation was overheard by the Empress. Hence the election.[42]

As is often the case, the status of this report makes objective assessment of its claims problematic at best—not only is it openly based on Parisian gossip, but a patriotic English paper would be strongly motivated to make claims for English influence abroad. Nonetheless, it is a typical account in that it describes the elevation of the actress's status through the support of the Queen, and through that support, the Queen's own status is confirmed and even strengthened, in this

---

[41] Bill McCann, "Victorian Etiquette IX: Petitions," www.storyoflondon.com accessed November 10, 2005.

[42] "The Queen & the Actress," *The London Journal and weekly record of literature, science and art* 22/566 (1856): 287.

case through the suggestion that France's Empress herself accedes to the English monarch's wishes.

In her politicized position as monarch, Victoria was unable to maintain her usual diplomatically neutral stance on musical nationalism. Labelled as a supporter of foreign musicians in the early days of her reign, Queen Victoria was unable to redeem her image as a patron of English musicians throughout the remainder of her reign. Although her patronage of foreign musicians was not an issue for her subjects at large, nor even to many theatre-goers who sympathized with her tastes, to those in the musical and theatrical professions her patronage had a profound effect on their careers. In this way Queen Victoria's patronage was profitable for England's music industry, but not necessarily for her English musicians.

Queen Victoria, women musicians, and the Women's movement

Because Queen Victoria was thought to command such power in the theatrical and musical worlds that in turn influenced her subjects, we can recognize her patronage as a political statement. Victoria's activity as a patron of women musicians was a discreet act of support for women as political and social, as well as theatrical, actors. In this section, I explore Queen Victoria's and women musicians' roles in the mid-century women's movement. "Women worthies" for their generation and posterity, their personal relationship fostered a unique environment where power was transferred between prominent female parties through subtle actions.

The nineteenth century was a watershed for women seeking an increase in rights and access to public space. Even before Victoria's accession the rumblings of women's rights were becoming increasingly strong, but by the 1850s Victorian England was in the midst of Britain's first widespread women's movement.[43] Victoria's position as monarch was encouraging to feminists driven to work toward equality between the sexes.[44] But it was only indirect encouragement, since Victoria was careful not to issue a concrete statement regarding her views of the mid-century feminist movement.

The case of activist Caroline Norton was instrumental in politicizing the woman question in the nineteenth century and is an example of Queen Victoria's subtle support of women seeking equal rights. A descendant of British playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Caroline Sheridan was a noblewoman, writer and composer who made an unfortunate marriage to George Norton, who took advantage of Caroline's connections in order to further his career. After several years of abuse, Caroline sought to divorce her husband, but found that the law did not allow it; only men could divorce their wives for adultery. Over the next several years, Caroline devoted her writing to change the law. The results were the Infant Custody Bill passed in 1839 and the Married Woman's Property Act and Divorce Bill passed in 1857. Though Caroline Norton did not argue that women were equal to men, she did argue for equal treatment under the law.[45]

---

[43] Barbara Caine, *English Feminism, 1780-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 88.
[44] Elizabeth Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder, *The Woman Question: society and literature in Britain and America, 1827-1883.* Volume I—Defining Voices (New York: Garland, 1983), 69.
[45] Mary Mark Ockerbloom, "Caroline Norton," http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/norton/nc-biography.html <accessed 10 Feb 2006.

This kind of feminism appealed to Queen Victoria and she showed her sympathy to Caroline Norton's cause by accepting her at court.[46]

Queen Victoria's image to be viewed as an 'everywoman'—an ordinary wife and mother—was a convincing identity that her subjects were ready to accept.[47] When in the midst of her legal battles, Caroline Norton published a pamphlet in 1855, *A Letter to the Queen*. Norton saw "the Queen as a woman like herself who relie[d] on the chivalric protection of a patriarch, and who would understand Norton's wish to have the Law serve as her guardian from the outlawry of her husband."[48] Although Victoria appeared to rely on Prince Albert's protection and guidance, she was politically involved at every level of state affairs. That she was able to intimate that she was politically subordinate to her husband undoubtedly contributed to her success.

Queen Victoria's political situation was such that she needed to maintain a neutral stance on public matters. This, however, did not stop her from subtle political acts of supporting women, such as the example of Caroline Norton above, nor did it stop women involved in the feminist movement from including her as a role model of what women could achieve; in fact, her example provided precisely the type of model that Barbara Caine describes in general terms:

> many women who were not themselves motivated by specifically feminist aims or ideas play a major role in the construction of feminist traditions or campaigns or possibilities. Feminist rhetoric and feminist argument have necessarily drawn on and made use of literary, social, and political women

---

[46] Jerrold Clare, *The Early Court of Queen Victoria* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 329.
[47] Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 33.
[48] Mary Mark Ockerbloom, "Caroline Norton," http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/notron/nc-biography.html <accessed 10 Feb 2005.

> who have not themselves been strongly committed to the cause of women's emancipation.[49]

As unknowing actors in the political field, Queen Victoria and women musicians sent perhaps inadvertent, or at least unintended, messages through their actions. In this way feminists interpreted both Victoria's conduct and those of female musicians as supporting the women's movement.

Queen Victoria and the women musicians she patronized formed an interesting unit. In an age where women musicians more typically answered to male impresarios and producers, and to mixed audiences, Queen Victoria's patronage was both parallel to and distinct from that of more typical male patrons and organizers. Although this particular form of support was unique to England's music industry and invoved a person of the highest social status, such mutual support among women professionals was common in other professions more acceptable to women: writing and painting.[50] As a means of professional and social support, "the politics of friendship and the friendship of politics have for some years been recognized as central to the formation of the women's movement."[51] This certainly is the case with respect to Queen Victoria and the women musicians appearing at her court, yet this aspect of their relationship has

---

[49] Caine, *English Feminism*, 3.

[50] Christopher Kent, "Image and Reality: The Actress in Society," in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 95. Because the work involved in writing or painting could take place in the home, they were deemed more acceptable as more legitimate professions for women seeking a creative and professional outlet.

[51] Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain, 1850-1900* (London: Routledge, 2000), 12. Cherry cites sources where the politics of friendship have been discussed in relation to the nineteenth-century feminist movement: Liz Stanley, *Feminism and Friendship* (Manchester: Department of Sociology, University of Manchester, 1985); Jane Rendall, "Friendship and Politics: Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Bessie Raynor Parkes" in *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the 19th Century*, ed. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (New York: Routledge, 1989), 136-170.

yet to be explored. As we will see, Queen Victoria and women musicians worked together to increase the respectability of professional women musicians. Before examining this network of support further, however, it is first important to explore Queen Victoria's attitudes to the mid-century women's movement more closely.

Like her views on so many issues, Queen Victoria's position on women's rights was at best ambivalent. While her political situation was enough to inspire feminists, in the writings and actions attributed to her there is a hesitant reaction to a sensitive issue. In a letter of 1852 to her Uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, Queen Victoria best summarized her feelings as a woman in a man's world: "We women are not *made* for governing—and if we are good women, we must *dislike* these masculine occupations; but there are times which force one to take *interest* in them *mal gré bon gré*, and *I* do, of course, *intensely*."[52] From this letter it is clear that Victoria knew that, at least according to conventional wisdom, good women needed to avoid as much as possible tasks better left to men. However, despite this realization, she indicated that she was engaged by her position and took her role seriously; to make circumstances even more unnatural, she both enjoyed these activities and performed them well. This was a private letter between relatives and ruling monarchs; it was also a letter to an older male authority and father figure. This may have been Queen Victoria's true opinion, or it may have been what she knew she should say. Even if she were negotiating between what her uncle wanted to hear with her true feelings, she makes known

---

[52] Queen Victoria, Buckingham Palace, to Leopold King of the Belgians, 17 February 1852 in *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*, ed. John Raymond (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963), 188. The idiomatic phrase "mal gré bon gré" translates as "for better or worse."

that despite her knowledge of women's roles she enjoyed her position. Whether this pleased or angered him is unrecorded.

Queen Victoria's particular brand of feminism subscribed to the idea of the exploitation of 'us poor women' by sexually insatiable husbands.[53] The thought of women's sexual exploitation, however, did not provoke the Queen to embrace the mid-nineteenth century feminist movement; she maintained conservative and contemporary ideas regarding women and their roles in society. This included a reluctance to endorse women's growing interest in joining professions previously closed to them, such as the medical profession. For instance, she did not advocate medical study for women, since for propriety's sake certain body parts could not be named in their presence.[54] However, the idea of votes for women was slightly less troublesome for her, although still not a prominent issue. Victoria's view on feminism permitted her to enjoy jokes about men: "She was delighted when Lord Dufferin revealed to her the grounds on which a deputation of women had demanded the vote: 'Men were seldom fit for the work.'"[55] Lord Dufferin was a British public servant and a future Governor General of Canada; that he was able to joke with Queen Victoria about the vote for women and men's incompetence shows a potentially ambiguous attitude. At once opposing women's advancement into male professions, at the same time she was able to jokingly admit women's capacity to vote because of men's lackluster

---

[53] Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria RI* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1964), 395. Queen Victoria did not enjoy the repercussions of sex (pregnancy and childbirth), which caused her nine pregnancies between 1840 and 1857. Although she did enjoy the act of sex, her husband's sexual appetite is responsible for the above paraphrase. On her daughter Princess Victoria's marriage to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia the Queen explained that although she loved Prince Albert even he was ruled by sexual urges.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

attention to political matters, or men's *in*capacity in the case of universal male suffrage. Victoria's reaction to Lord Dufferin's joke again reflects a private response to a political situation that contradicted her public image and thereby continued to project two conflicting impressions, only one of which, however, was publicly visible.[56]

At any moment, then, Queen Victoria embodied some nineteenth-century feminist ideals, while also performing the gender conventions placed upon women by society. This ambiguity worked to Victoria's best advantage: she was simultaneously a role model by her example and position to those women attempting to achieve political rights and still an upholder of the social status quo. According to Deidre Shearman this was one of the ways in which her image represented both existing and emerging gender roles:

> in a society where power relations were largely based on sexual difference, nothing could obscure the fact that she was a public figure with a public role, and her different representations emphasized that she brought to that role a strong moral sense and dedication to public duty, the side of her portrayal on which she herself laid most stress. This was of great importance to many women.[57]

While Victoria herself may have been reluctant to make any strong public statements for or against women's suffrage, she was still held as an example for the women's movement. At the same time, she was viewed as very much the ideal woman and mother. Despite the reversal of gender roles in her public life, her private life was similar to those of her female subjects: she set a moral

---

[56] Helsinger, Sheets, and Veeder, *The Woman Question*, 70.
[57] Deidre Shearman, *The image of Victoria: patronage, profits and patriotism* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1996), 299.

example for her family and was presented as responsible for running her household.[58] Not only was she capable of performing both accepted and aberrant roles, in her position of monarch she was respected and popular; the same could not be said of her immediate male predecessors. Queen Victoria balanced the roles of ideal Victorian woman and political advocate like a professional actress.

Queen Victoria as spectacle: the Royal Actress

As England's head of state, Queen Victoria was expected to make public appearances and support cultural endeavours. A few evenings a week the Royal box at the opera would be full, and the Queen's presence at such events added to the spectacle. The location of the Royal box helped to place Queen Victoria at the center of the event, regardless of her official relationship to the performance. The Royal box was at the front of the house, adjacent to the stage, which allowed Queen Victoria and her party to be seen by the audience. Because of her prestige and the visual pomp of her presence, the Queen's attendance was always mentioned in the press. In fact, in numerous reviews the Queen's attendance and her reaction to the performance received more space than the discussion of the performance proper, thus upstaging the performance itself.[59]

---

[58] Ibid., 143.

[59] Daily newspapers with their comprehensive coverage of the main musical events provided the most results for my search on Queen Victoria's attendance of public performances. The journalists' focus on Queen Victoria's attendance was an additional bonus that demonstrated her importance to the performing arts community. Reviews detailing at length the Queen's reaction were too numerous to discuss individually and were often repetitive. For further reviews that chronicle the Queen's reaction see the *Times* (London): 10 May 1847, p. 6; Issue 19545, col C; 16 June 1847, p. 8; Issue 19577, col C; 5 May 1848, p. 5; Issue 19855, col C; 22 January 1858, p. 8; Issue 22897, col D; and the *Illustrated London News*: 4/3 (Saturday, June 15, 1844), 389; 10/268 (June 19, 1847), 393-4; 12/315 (May 6, 1848), 296.

Like musical queens, Victoria was also closely scrutinized by the press and was as much a spectacle as those women performing in public. One example of this occurred following the first performances of Jenny Lind in England. In 1847, the press reported Queen Victoria's reaction as captured by an observant journalist after the concert itself would have been old news:

> A Royal compliment—An incident occurred at Her Majesty's Theatre on Thursday evening, illustrating in a remarkable manner the effect produced in the Royal box by Jenny Lind's transcendent talent on the first night of her *début*. The fact having altogether escaped the notice of our daily contemporaries may be worth mentioning here. The Queen, as already stated, arrived before the commencement of the overture. During the performance of the opera Her Majesty gave frequent indications of the delight she experienced by bestowing her applause with a degree of energy scarcely surpassed by any lady in the theatre, and at the close of the opera, when the fair *cantatrice* was summoned before the curtain to receive the final stamp of approbation from the audience, Her Majesty so far threw aside her Queenly dignity as to cast a superb bouquet, which lay before her in the Royal box, at the feet of the *débutante*. The incident—certainly unparalleled on any former occasion in this country—was unobserved by the great majority of the audience, all of whom were at the moment in an extreme state of excitement; but the gracious set of condescension did not escape the fair songstress, and a profound curtsey acknowledged the Royal recognition of her success.[60]

With so much attention given to the Royal party, it is hard to keep in mind that the reason for the Queen's public appearance was a musical event at which the Royal party happened to be present. The reviewer's comments suggest that the

---

[60] "News: Mr. J. Nash's view of Windsor Castle," *Times* (London) 10 May 1847, p. 6; Issue 19545, col C.

Queen's presence was as much a spectacle for him as the performance itself, since he presumably neglected the performance to record the reactions of the Queen, which were supposedly unnoticed by the audience.

As we have seen, Queen Victoria worshipped these opera singers as much as her subjects adored her. By displaying her enjoyment, her unregal response to Lind demonstrated the social leveling effect powerful singers could have on their audience. Queen Victoria's response was certainly not spontaneous, since the "superb bouquet" was ready and waiting to be thrown. Given Victoria's acknowledgement of the power of the press, this could have been a premeditated manipulation of the media on the Queen's part, one of her roles as royal actress. That a member of the press noticed and wrote about her actions was rather fortuitous; for a Queen, the highest social and political position in the country, to honour a performer like Lind in public was indeed a newsworthy item. Her visible response to Lind's performance, if only for a brief moment, equalizes the two 'queens' in terms of social effect. Victoria's response reveals her as a worshipper reveling in Lind's sonic and cultural power. Lind's response to the bouquet was equally calculated. By acknowledging the Queen's adulation, Lind was identifying herself with England's most renowned patron, which could only lead to more performances and more security.

And yet, this was not an isolated incident. Often the Queen's presence is mentioned at prominent sections of a review, either toward the end or at the beginning if the Queen was celebrating a particular occasion by commanding a performance or honouring one with her attendance. Reviews of Jenny Lind's

performances are particularly revealing since Queen Victoria was so devoted to Lind, but the public was so enamoured with both women that a commentary on both was a necessity:

> Last night was a glorious occasion for Her Majesty's Theatre, being distinguished by a state visit from its Royal patroness, and by the triumphant reception of Jenny Lind in the character of Norma.
> The appearance of the great vocalist in this part has long been anticipated with extreme curiosity, and would alone have attracted a crowded audience. But the fact that also the Queen intended to honour the performance with her avowed presence took the town by surprise, and the double excitement was extraordinary.
> The Royal box, surmounted by a Crown, was hung with crimson velvet, fringed with gold, the decorations extending to the boxes on the right and left, in which were placed the ladies and gentlemen of the suite. Two yeomen, according to ancient custom, stood on the stage in front of the box. Her Majesty and Prince Albert, who was dressed in full uniform, arrived exactly at 8 o'clock, which was the signal for the commencement of the national anthem. The brilliant assemblage in the boxes, the splendour of the dresses, the abundance of jewels worn by the fair visitors, produced a superb spectacle when the general "rising" took place. Nor was the enthusiasm less than the splendour. Acclamations were uttered on all sides, and handkerchiefs were waved in all directions at the end of the anthem.[61]

Given the anticipation of Jenny Lind's performances as indicated by the reviewer, readers may have expected the review to focus on her performance, since Lind was the cause of the excitement. Instead the Royal party received first billing, and we get a very descriptive account of the Royal box in addition to the Queen's

---

[61] "Reviews: Her Majesty's Theatre, The Queen's Visit," *Times* (London), 7 June 1847, p. 5; Issue 19569, col F.

enthusiastic response to Lind's Norma further on in the article.[62] The opulence of the Royal box and its proximity to the stage displayed the Queen's prestige and importance. The yeoman guarding the box from the stage situates the location of the box, which may not have been the best aesthetic location, but was among the best to be seen by Victoria's subjects. As the performance did not begin until after Victoria and Albert's arrival, their presence was as much part of the event as Lind's performance and shows the monarchy's symbolic importance. In essence, the audience could attend two spectacles for the price of one; the Queen's arrival and departure as well as the interim opera performance.

The Queen's presence also served as an additional advertising item for certain concerts. Knowing of Prince Albert's involvement with the Society of Ancient Music, audiences could depend on the Queen's attendance to support her husband. Those with subscriptions to such concerts had an even better view of the Queen than at the opera because of the intimate size of the concert hall, which was significantly smaller than a theatre or opera hall. This fact did not go unnoticed in a review of the Ancient Concerts in 1844:

> The visit of Her Majesty to this particular concert is the great cause of attraction, for at no public place can she be seen so plainly as in these rooms. It is not merely a furtive glance, as at the Royal box at the theatre, but Her Majesty takes her seat in the most conspicuous part of the room, and may be observed without difficulty.[63]

Viewing the Queen in such close proximity was a spectacle extraneous to the musical event, but it could also have been a conscious effort on her part to be seen

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] "Review: Concerts of Ancient Music," *Times* (London), 9 May 1844, p. 5; Issue 18605, col A.

by the audience, a further example of her as a royal actress using public appearances to her best advantage.

In attending public music events the Queen was performing her public role, much like the women actresses and musicians that she supported. Such a similarity did not go unnoticed by the satirical press, who at the beginning of her reign likened Victoria to an actress as she made her parliamentary début as a young Queen:

> If it be true, that "all the world's a stage," we suppose that Kings and Queens must be tip top performers; stars, engaged at heavy salaries, to play the leading business of this terrestrial hemisphere. Victoria has just come out, in the character not only of leading actress, but of a manageress on her own account, and in both characters, she has won the hearty applause of the public....Her *début* made at the opening of the Parliamentary Theatre attracted a full house, and all was anxiety to hear the address that the royal manageress intended speaking.[64]

The actress's position as a woman of social freedom mirrored the Queen's position as politically and socially above gender. The political cartoon accompanying the 'review' of Queen Victoria's address to Parliament protracts the allusion (see Figure 1). In addition to model wife, mother and monarch, *Figaro in London* casts her as a royal actress. But the Queen was more than just an actress in this political cartoon: the musicians are looking at their conductor with their instruments engaged; the Queen's gesture and center stage position indicate singing. Queen Victoria *is* a prima donna supported by the conductor and the orchestra. Possessing the metaphorical and literal uses of voice, Queen

---

[64] "The Royal Actresses Debut," *Figaro in London* 6/312 (November 25, 1837), 185.

Victoria is first lady of the political and national stages—an example of woman's voice as a symbol of power.

Figure 1. Cartoon accompanying "The Royal Actress's Debut" in *Figaro of London* 6/312 (November 25, 1837), 185.

Just so that readers comprehended the metaphor, the review continues with an explanation of the Queen's supporting characters:

> Victoria the new actress, appears on the stage, supported by the principal members of her company. In front is the orchestra, in which there are several performers, some of whom would, if they could, promote discord instead of harmony but as the management has fixed upon O'Connell, as conductor, he will doubtless keep them in order, by means of his baton. Many of them are famous for quickly changing their notes, and playing

> different tunes, but the management has appointed O'Connell *to lead* and the rest will be forced to follow.[65]

Given the Queen's love of theatre and opera this comparison was a clever one for the satirical journal. Queen Victoria's comparison to actresses (note the interchangeability of actress and prima donna) was only the beginning; as her reign progressed she was well aware that she was a show and spectacle for her people and used this image to her advantage.[66]

This representation links Queen Victoria to the musical prima donnas who in their own way embodied power in the female voice. Their careers, like Victoria's, were also political statements, for "[t]o sing [or more generally, to perform] in public was to claim power in the society;"[67] especially for women. This was not only cultural power, as I examined in Chapter 3, but also political in the sense that women musicians were unashamedly performing in public before people who witnessed their actions, since women were competing for a public voice or presence. Queen Victoria's role as a prima donna was no accident; the perceptive press were aware of the prima donna's prominent place in society and what invoking that image would convey to their readers.

But there was another type of power associated with women musicians and prima donnas in particular: "the female voice is construed both as a signifier of sexual otherness and a source of sexual power, an object at once of desire and

---

[65] Ibid., 186. Daniel O'Connell was an Irish MP who was campaigning for an independent Kingdom of Ireland that would still have Victoria as Queen. Although O'Connell tried to charm Victoria, she did not warm to his cause.
[66] Homans, *Royal Representations*, 60.
[67] William Weber, "Artisans in Concert Life in Mid-Nineteenth Century London and Paris," *Journal of Contemporary History* 13 (1978): 254.

fear."[68] Victoria's accession was both desired and feared because of her sex. As a young Queen her association with the figure of the prima donna was also a commentary on her sexual power—which I have discussed in Chapter 3 as a concern prior to and upon her accession. The *Figaro* caricature embodied the underlying sexual politics surrounding a Queen Regnant rather than a Queen Consort. Likewise for women musicians, social prominence had positive and negative aspects that had to be carefully negotiated.

According to Ann Cvetkovich any popularized event is worth studying because it "generates enthusiasm, cathexis, pleasure, fear, excitement, tears, terror—in short, affect," and the phenomenon of women musicians was a nineteenth century cultural event.[69] The prima donna and the female virtuoso evoked all these emotions for audiences; they were at once objects of attraction and revulsion. With music as their medium, these women achieved a social and political power unavailable to past generations, given the adoration of opera singers and virtuosos and their increasingly acceptable place in the public sphere. But their medium contributed to the attraction/revulsion equation. Music had long been associated with the feminine in a negative way. As Richard Leppert notes, "[t]he fear of music is a fear of feminine eruption, of a musical "she" who ceases to charm us, who in effect denaturalizes "herself," losing "her" simplicity, becoming complex, astonishing, and more like a man."[70] Professional women

---

[68] Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, "Introduction," in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.
[69] Ann Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 26.
[70] Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: music, representation and the history of the body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69.

musicians had to temper their feminine charms with the tenacity to survive in a competitive workplace in order to dispel the powerful myth of the siren equating "women's singing with the death-hungry outpouring of a darkly erotic and hostile female sexuality" that reputedly still haunted women musicians in public.[71] Perhaps, in this context, Grisi, whose actions were so harshly criticized in the press and by other singers, was simply attempting to survive using any means available to her. But the price she paid was high. Accused of trying to adversely affect Malibran's career and her very public separation from her husband, Grisi exhibited a character that could be interpreted as not sufficiently different from the powerful men of the period. As a woman with a man's power in a public sphere, Grisi's ambition was too unfeminine and therefore criticised.

Leppert's point also speaks to the women in the audience who reacted to women's performances. Women spectators were drawn to the power that women musicians commanded. The example of the diva-worshipper demonstrated the effect these performers had on their female audiences, an effect both inspiring and potentially disturbing. Women singers and pianists had the potential to inspire their "sisters" to seek a public presence, by example or design, and therefore could be seen as a boost to the women's movement. The supposedly disturbing nature of their performances was from the perspective of conventional society: the aberrance of their positions might influence other women to seek out equality as well as the escape from sexual stereotypes that the liberty of performing in public granted them.

---

[71] Susan Rutherford, "The Voice of Freedom: Images of the Prima Donna," in *The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and Theatre 1850-1914*, ed. Vivien Gardner and Susan Rutherford (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 96.

Leppert also notes that the consumption of music is more than a sonic experience: it is a "sight—embodied, active, and situated, all qualities that mediate musical meanings. The result is the consumption and simultaneous production of identity."[72] For other women the sight of professional women musicians performing in public signalled that, if handled properly, women could be accepted in the public sphere. Because of their public careers these women were a site of identification for the women in the audience that they too could command power in public. It took the better half of a century to accomplish this, but the seeds were sown in the early years of Victoria's reign. Still, there was a dualistic identification centred on these women's public appearances.[73] The less attractive identification was one imposed by some audience members, who perhaps saw these performers as sexually available for their visual and physical consumption.

Music's 'great temptation' was seen as the effect it was thought to have on women's sexuality, as performers and observers.[74] Music's dangerous effects were not mentioned with respect to Queen Victoria's patronage in the reviews I examined; rather her musical patronage was an example to be emulated. Perhaps this was because no real danger existed—her relationship to these women was not an erotic one, but one of admiration and respect. Coming from a position of power, Victoria was able to appreciate the challenges facing these women and use whatever influence was available to her to help them. As opera was "above all the experience of listening to the voice, especially that of the diva…listening

---

[72] Leppert, *Sight of Sound*, 68.
[73] See Chapter 3, page 118-9.
[74] Leppert., 69; Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, "Introduction, 5.

assumes new importance in critical discourse, for the listener actively engages in the construction of the meaning of vocal performance,"[75] it is appropriate that Queen Victoria was cast in the role of prima donna; not only because of her patronage of the opera and its singers, but because of the public's construction of meaning for that patronage throughout her reign. Under these circumstances, music could be seen as not dangerous, but liberating for audiences and performers alike.

Queen Victoria's patronage of women musicians and their relationship to her, an important aspect of her reign neglected in scholarship, indicates that although she made no overt statement regarding women's suffrage and public position, she accepted women who held public positions; indeed, she had worshipped and admired them since her youth. Queen Victoria's position and sex provided an alternative to the more common interactions between concert and opera producers. Queen Victoria took a personal interest in these women's lives, an interest that was not likely central to the business relationships necessary for public music making. Victoria's relationship with these women musicians may at first seem insignificant, but upon closer examination we can recognize that it was as public a statement as Victoria could safely make. Throughout history,

> women's friendships have been trivialized precisely because they do *not* reverberate on the public sphere or resonate within the realms of power, as the celebrated friendships of men have done. [I owe these points to Heilbrun *Writing a Woman's Life*, 100.] It is important to retain a sense of the intensity of pleasure and affection, and the sustaining practice, that

[75] Dunn and Jones, "Introduction," 5.

> mark women's intimacy with one another, even in claiming these same friendships as a political resource.[76]

The entries from Victoria's journal cited in Chapter 3 attest to her affection for these performers and the strength of the relationships she maintained. Queen Victoria's relationships with these women musicians, and their relationships with her, were not trivial; although these relationships were never thought of as significant, they were very important to both Queen Victoria and the women musicians appearing at her court. In turn, these relationships shaped the perception of women musicians in Victorian society. Queen Victoria's interest and women musicians' careful negotiation of their reputations neutralized the potential for revulsion that could damage their fragile status.

Queen Victoria's "special friendship" with Jenny Lind shows the ultimate reward of Victoria's patronage.[77] Lind achieved a degree of familiarity with Queen Victoria, which "for its time and place was rather remarkable…The singer corresponded with Victoria and kept her abreast of her activities."[78] Differences in social status precluded friendship in our understanding of the term, but that Lind and Victoria had a relationship approaching friendship is certain. Given the Queen's friendliness with Lind, it is also conceivable that Victoria cultivated similar relationships with others among her favourites.

---

[76] Lorraine Code, *What can she know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 101.

[77] Budds, *Music*, 266. In a personal correspondence, Miss Allison Derrett, Assistant Registrar at the Royal Archives, suggests that calling the Queen's encounters with performers 'significant relationships' "implies a closeness and friendship that I doubt existed" (May 8, 2006). Yet it is hard to deny friendly relationships between the Queen and her favourites given her journal entries regarding their appearances at court and her conversations with them.

[78] Ibid., 267-8.

In addition to the symbiotic social rewards for Queen Victoria and the women musicians appearing at court, there was an additional political aspect to these relationships. For Victoria the benefits included the personal satisfaction of hearing the best singers of the day and providing an example of musical patronage for her subjects. The women musicians, in turn, received an intelligent, attentive and influential audience. With Victoria at its head, the Royal court provided the women musicians who performed there a position from which they, like all women of public accomplishment before the mid-twentieth century, could make a political statement in trying to claim a public space. [79]

Putting the 'virtue' back in virtuoso: "women worthies"

With an increasing number of "worthies" named during the nineteenth-century, Queen Victoria was not an isolated example for women. Just as her patronage did much for the female singers and pianists that appeared at her court, her public patronage and her association with philanthropic societies also helped women musicians. Likewise women receiving Victoria's patronage could in turn inspire other women. By mid-century, feminists were emphasizing the general qualities of womanhood, while valuing the activities and character of certain public women, i.e. "woman worthies."[80] Singers like Jenny Lind, Clara Novello, as well as pianists like Clara Schumann and Lucy Anderson were perfect candidates for such recognition. And while they may not have been identified

---

[79] Ruth A. Solie, "Changing the Subject," *Current Musicology* 53 (1993): 57. Solie's article examines the challenges of female biography for musicology. Solie argues that all women in the public eye before the twentieth century rebelled against social norms, and therefore their lives and activities were politicized.

[80] Caine, *English Feminism*, 88.

specifically as "women worthies," they were certainly held as exempla. Not only were they talented, but they also held public positions and were accepted as a result of their morals and way of life. Interestingly, these women were also devoted wives and mothers who managed, like Queen Victoria, to embody Victorian ideals of womanly perfection while maintaining a socially questionable public career. Jenny Lind offers the clearest example: aside from her public career, she conformed to socially acceptable ideals of womanhood. After her marriage, she retired from the stage; she only performed in public occasionally, and often for charity. The antithesis of Grisi, Lind's behaviour and conformity to social norms was a large part of her success. She maintained her status as "woman worthy" for years after her retirement from the stage and even after her death.[81] Lind would not have described herself as a feminist heroine, but at a march for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1908, women musicians marched with Jenny Lind as an example of a heroine on their banner.[82]

While there is no evidence that the prominent singers and pianists for the period of this study were directly connected to the British feminist movement, their example was still felt simply by their visible public presence, and women musicians played a subtle role in changing societal norms. A group of English women formed a companion society to the Royal Society of Musicians, an organization from which they were excluded as a result of their gender.[83] Because the Royal Society of Musicians, founded in 1834, did not permit women

---

[81] Elizabeth Wood, "Performing Rights: a sonography of Women's suffrage," *The Musical Quarterly* 79/4 (Winter 1995): 638n.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Deborah Rohr, "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: the Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839-1866)," *Journal of Musicological Research* 18 (1999): 308.

members despite relying on their drawing power for benefit concerts, a number of influential women musicians formed a society of their own.[84] Their organization, the Royal Society of Female Musicians (RSFM), provided financial support for struggling or destitute women in the music professions. The members of the RSFM were also politically motivated to seek the same rights as male musicians. A significant percentage of women who formed the RSFM were among the regulars at Queen Victoria's court says something of the respectability of the society.[85] Additionally, Queen Victoria's well-publicized patronage of the society was undoubtedly an important factor in its success.

This society formed yet another link between Queen Victoria and women musicians. Her support included designating the society as 'Royal,' but she also became the society's patron, with an initial donation of 20 guineas, and subsequent annual support of 10 guineas.[86] With Queen Victoria as their patron, the group received rave reviews in the Victorian dailies and serials. Her patronage of the RSFM indicates she was aware of their social and professional concerns, and that her interest in women musicians did not end with the enjoyment they brought her by their performances. Queen Victoria's prominent place in the list of patrons also made her the symbolic head of a society completely devoted to the promotion and acceptance of women in public professions. Her endorsement of the society brought additional patrons and

---

[84] Ibid., 310

[85] Of eighteen founding members, six performed at Queen Victoria's court: Lucy Anderson, Charlotte A. Birch, Clara Novello, Elizabeth Rainforth, Charlotte H. Dolby, and Fanny Wyndham. Members who joined later and performed before Queen Victoria were Louisa Pyne and Jane Shirreff. Rohr, *Women and the Music Profession*, 331-341.

[86] Ibid., 308.

financial support. The use of her name helped neutralize the dangerous aspects of women performing in public, while highlighting the positive ones. Though not explicitly a politically motivated act, Queen Victoria's patronage of the RSFM nonetheless sent a political message that she found it acceptable for such women to perform publicly and that they deserved the same professional and financial security allowed RSM members.

Victoria's relationship with the women musicians she supported, then, was more than an interested audience member. The women of the RSFM represented the respectable and moral women musicians. They were also British and her distanced involvement was a way for Victoria to show her support for native talent without always making her presence known in public performance spaces. Even though she preferred other singers, she still supported women musicians who were also her subjects.

Conclusion

Early in her reign the Victorian press initiated a discursive cycle through the use of titles and epithets. Queen Victoria was likened to the prima donna; and throughout her reign actual prima donnas and other women performers were repeatedly invested with her title. In neither case were the labels meant to be taken literally, but the cycle is nonetheless suggestive: both Victoria and women musicians were atypical in their social position and in the power they therefore commanded. As such they had the potential to influence other women. Despite Queen Victoria's and some women musicians' reputations as "women worthies,"

they took no direct role in the mid-century women's movement. Yet they were and continue to be upheld as exempla of women's capabilities, which has inspired women seeking political and social equality, and justifiably so. These women, however, were not just upheld as examples; they actually enacted change upon the reception of women musicians in their time and beyond. Queen Victoria's and women musicians' joint impact created a network in which women musicians, Queen Victoria's patronage, and her own example had a more intense effect in making women's activity acceptable than any one acting alone could have produced.

Chapter 5: Epilogue

The Court Mourns

Prince Albert's death in 1861 put an end to the Queen's musical activity and her public appearances until the mid-1860s.[1] While Queen Victoria never fully recovered from Albert's premature death at the age of forty-two, his death was not the sole reason for her public retirement and her avoidance of things they once enjoyed together. In March 1861 the Queen's mother, the Duchess of Kent, died after suffering cancer for six years. Despite an often tempestuous relationship with her mother, Queen Victoria was beside herself with grief. She refused to go into public, or attend levees[2] and concerts. The Queen's journals record that during this period of mourning, she chose not to appear at a sacred music festival, and that it was originally planned that Prince Albert would hold levees in Victoria's name after a substantial period of mourning ended in May 1861.[3] As Victoria's emotional foundation, Prince Albert held levees in her honour, but her court was not the once-happy scene of gaiety that marked her youth. Victoria's grief was so great that the State Concerts were not held the summer following the Duchess of Kent's death. Thus she set a tone of self-denial and avoidance of pleasurable activities well before Albert's death. When Albert died in December of the same year Victoria did not resume public appearances until 1864 and continued to mourn for the rest of her life.

---

[1] State Concerts resumed in 1864, but without Victoria's presence. She did not attend State Concerts again until the 1870s.
[2] Once an event only given by a sovereign, a levee is a formal reception held during the day rather than the evening.
[3] RA VIC/QVJ/1861: 16 April.

That musical events at court continued despite Victoria's absence proves how important she felt they were to her court and to the musicians who performed for them. She remained the figurehead of the State Concerts and continued to request certain performers even though she knew she would not hear them. Whether she felt that attending the concerts would dishonour the memory of her mother and Albert or she did not want bare her grief in front of others, Victoria's emotional state was too fragile to preside over such a grand event. She eventually began attending State Concerts again once her son-in-law, Prince Henry of Battenburg, slowly coaxed her back to old routines. Musical events were now private events in the home; she never attended a public concert or opera again. As musical activities slowly resumed at court it became evident that the level of musical activity would never attain the frequency of Victoria's youth and that of her married life; nor would she participate as enthusiastically as she once had. While State Concerts were eventually reinstated, the Queen rarely allowed herself the pleasure of attending. In her stead, Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales, acted as her representative. When she once again attended State Concerts, she continued to have favourite singers, notably the Canadian Emma Albani and the Italian Adelina Patti, but her adoration of these performers never reached the same degree of fervour.

In the years following 1861 the musical community had to settle for Victoria's absence and a decrease in court musical activity. With a continuing rise in attendance of the middling classes, Queen Victoria's lengthy hiatus as a patron was not as severe for musicians, and undoubtedly rendered her patronage

less significant. Although opera and concert halls could no longer use the Queen's name as a draw for curious parties, her previous example was enough to encourage the public's continued interest despite her retirement from such events.

For all its scrutiny and criticism, Queen Victoria's patronage was a reflection of her musical taste. As such, her patronage does not resemble that of other men and women. At its most basic level a patronage relationship "involves handing over cash to musicians, directly or indirectly, and many people who hold a somewhat worshipful attitude toward the works of the 'classical' canon…feel that any mention of money distracts (or even detracts) from the cherished qualities of the object of veneration."[4] More so than the works of the canon, performers were the valued commodities of Queen Victoria's patronage. The fame and talent of the performer took precedence over the repertoire or venue. In this way, Queen Victoria's patronage was the survival of a performer-based culture despite the developing composer-composition canon. However, despite the pleasure it brought Victoria and the opportunities it presented to performers, the basic tenet of patronage—an exchange of goods or services—had to be honoured. Her personalization of this exchange, however, was endearing to performers. Queen Victoria's considerable interest as a patron went beyond that of a benevolent aristocrat. Together, patron and performers united to convey a scenario long-unexplored: that women could be important, active, and public patrons, and that women musicians were valued, despite the stigmatization of their characters resulting from their public presence. In England an enthusiastic

[4] Cyrilla Barr and Ralph P. Locke, "Introduction: Music Patronage as a 'Female-Centered cultural process,'" in *Cultivating Music in America: women patrons and activism since 1860*, ed. Cyrilla Barr and Ralph P. Locke (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 4.

queen who supported women musicians in her home and in public demonstrated that women performers were not aberrant or abnormal. Her court served as an example of a space where women musicians were not only welcomed, but exalted as legitimate professionals.

The underlying financial transaction between patron and employee belies a tradition that has often involved women, both as performers and patrons. Queen Victoria's public patronage was more conventional, and less problematic, in that all audience members were patrons of a particular performance; however, for her State Concerts, as organizer she was the primary patron. It was in this situation that Queen Victoria's position as a patron is worth highlighting given the gender roles of the time. The financial aspect of the transaction indicates it was a masculine task, since men were traditionally responsible for the management of funds. Music, an already feminized activity, allowed Victoria and other aristocratic women to choose performers to their liking. These enactments of social and gender roles have hindered the examination of women's patronage:

> a sadly reliable pair of feminist truisms holds that any work that is socially undervalued (e.g., child rearing, primary education, housework, patient care) will be assigned to women and that, conversely, any work that women do will be socially undervalued (scorned, underpaid, taken for granted) and, in the historical record, rendered to some extent invisible.[5]

Women's increasing role in arts patronage has contributed to its invisibility. Patrons' thankless yet vital roles throughout the nineteenth century coincided with an increase in women's public presence.

---

[5] Ibid., 3.

At Queen Victoria's court, both sides of the relationship have been obscured: Queen Victoria in her role as patron and the women musicians she supported in their role as social agents. Although women musicians who performed for Queen Victoria were financially rewarded for their work, their relationship with their patron involved much more than a mere financial exchange. There was a social connection between Victoria and a select group of singers as supported by her journal entries. These social actresses were related by the social discourse of 'queenliness' as protracted by the press that compared the character and carriage of prominent women musicians to their patron and Queen. The talent and popularity of women musicians in conjunction with their charm gave them cultural and symbolic powers previously unfamiliar to women. This developing agency enabled these captivating women to attract and maintain the attention of the public not only in a musical sense, but socially, to set an example of what women were capable of achieving if given the opportunity. That Queen Victoria supported concerts and operas featuring extraordinary women musicians did much to alleviate the stigma once associated with actresses and women musicians. Were it not for her support the change in society's acceptance of such professions for women would have been even slower. This camaraderie among the musicians and with their patron was an understated political gesture resulting from this circle of patronage; it should be recognized as a significant relationship, despite its lack of visibility and association with the mid-nineteenth century women's movement.

Queen Victoria's donations to the RSFM and personal gifts she gave to her favourite singers display a lessening of older types of patriarchal patronage. These philanthropic acts, although publicized and perhaps part of the pageantry of royal benevolence, show Victoria's support of women musicians in addition to the most basic definition of patronage.[6] She was interested in the careers and financial security of British women musicians; she also thought it necessary to reward those musicians she especially enjoyed. However, without direct and overt gestures Queen Victoria perpetuated the society's concerns regarding professional women in public. Queen Victoria's understated acts of benevolence and kindness also contribute to the lack of interest in women's patronage:

> women have traditionally used these activities [charity and philanthropy] to wield power in societies intent upon rendering them powerless. Unlike men, who enjoyed a host of political, commercial and social options in their pursuit of meaningful careers, women most often turned to non-profit institutions and reform associations as their primary access to public roles.[7]

Queen Victoria was certainly not without power; however, in order to conform to societal conventions and secure her popularity, she enacted traditional social roles while at the same time challenging political and commercial roles for women. Her musical activity also negotiated a convenient middle ground between privileged and traditionally feminine types of behaviour. As an amateur

---

[6] In these cases Queen Victoria's benevolence was not publicized by her, and therefore may not be self-aggrandizing forms of patronage. In order to gain additional support and respectability the RSFM made Queen Victoria's patronage known. Personal gifts given to performers were often published in memoirs or interviews to show a special relationship with the Queen.

[7] Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in *Lady Bountiful Revisited: women, philanthropy and power*, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 1.

performer, Queen Victoria followed the prescribed roles for a woman of her class. Yet her support of music and musicians managed to incorporate both masculine and feminine roles. Her concern for and support of institutions such as the RSFM were traditional patronage opportunities available to women. She exchanged money for private performances for her State Concerts in a more literal and masculine form of patronage. Simultaneously she was the head of these same State Concerts in which female singers made up the bulk of performers, which initiated a rare instance where women musicians answered to a woman patron: an atypical circumstance for the age and one that has been ignored.

Because of Queen Victoria's popularity her court held a strong position in London's musical life. Although made in the context of political patronage, J. M. Bourne's statement is also true of patronage of the arts: "The kind of patronage which exists and the role which it plays arise ultimately out of the value system of the society in which it exists."[8] Victoria's genuine interest in music made her patronage a pleasure, rather than a duty. Because Queen Victoria valued music and musicians and chose to support them both privately and publicly, they became an important element of nineteenth century society, as shown by the attention given to the Queen's public attendance of musical performances and reviews and interviews with women musicians. Neither Victoria nor the musicians she supported may have been aware of the effect their interaction was having on the position of women musicians, but an examination of their

---

[8] J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth Century England* (Baltimore, MD: E. Arnold, 1986), 8-9.

interaction in the broader context of public musical culture reveals the significant role their work played in legitimating professional activity by women.

Further Work

A number of research projects have emerged from this initial examination of Queen Victoria as a patron. The most distant from this current project investigates the musical activity of other members of Queen Victoria's family. Several members of the royal family were interested in composition. Prince Albert even went as far as to get his pieces performed at ceremonial occasions. Princesses Alice and Louise also composed, but have had less of their work published.

More closely related to this study is an examination of music at Queen Victoria's court following Prince Albert's death. There is conflicting information as to the degree of Victoria's involvement. Consulting Queen Victoria's journals from the later years of her reign may shed new light on the function of music in her daily life. She was still instrumental in organizing the State Concerts, but she relied on help from her son-in-law Prince Henry of Battenburg. The extent of this involvement remains unknown.

A third project would investigate the role of music at King Edward VII's court. From Prince Albert Edward's childhood Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were concerned regarding the future King Edward VII's ability to rule.[9] He was seen as a backward and graceless child constantly rebelling against his parents

[9] Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: the woman, the monarchy, the people* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 57-8.

and tutors.[10] Disobeying his mother's wishes came naturally to King Edward VII. It was Queen Victoria's wish that he rule under the name of King Albert, the title denied her husband, but the Prince of Wales chose his middle name for his royal title. This type of behaviour continued in his adulthood, even though he performed Victoria's role as monarch following Prince Albert's death.[11] This included representing his mother at State Concerts. Upon his succession King Edward VII did away with many of the musical ceremonies that entertained Queen Victoria. Among the first casualties were the State Concerts. After attending such concerts for his entire adult life, it is easy to understand why King Edward VII ended his mother's Royal tradition. To him they must have represented his mother's authority and control over his life. By discontinuing the concerts, he was asserting his authority over what was now his court.

While private music-making at the royal court suffered under King Edward VII's reign, his public patronage of music and particularly theatre equaled and even surpassed that of his mother. King Edward VII was a popular ruler and after Victoria's seclusion it must have been pleasing to see the King in public. Edward VII's love of theatre, and English drama in particular, was the kind of support that those in the theatrical profession had desired from Victoria. However, Edward VII's enjoyment of drama did not prevent him from also supporting music. The Royal College of Music was founded in 1882 with his

---

[10] Ibid., 47.
[11] Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xxx, 63.

patronage while he was still the Prince of Wales.[12] He continued to be closely related to the college throughout his life.

In terms of the social status of female musicians, Edward VII was a detriment to actresses and musicians in their continuing negotiation of public power. Edward VII had a number of mistresses, many of whom were associated with the stage. Not only did this undermine his reputation, but it also reaffirmed the stereotypes of actresses (and by association singers) as sexually available for prominent patrons. As a patron and heterosexual woman, Queen Victoria's interests had been purely musical. Unfortunately, her son did not aspire to the same standards. While Victoria's reign saw an elevation in the status of female musicians with respect to their cultural, economic, political and symbolic capitals, Edward VII's reign was a regression to the days of Queen Victoria's "wicked uncles."[13]

Perhaps because of Edward VII's action toward actresses the creation of actresses and female musicians as Dames of the British Empire was postponed until the 1920s, well after Edward VII's reign. Victoria's reason for not creating this honour will forever remain unknown. Her reign was known for its progressive acknowledgment of the arts and having the first knighting of (male)

---

[12] John Francis Barnett, *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 177-8; Meirion Hughes and Robert Strandling, *The English Musical Renaissance* 2nd ed. (New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 31.

[13] The term 'wicked uncles' is a term coined by Queen Victoria and borrowed from the title of a book chronicling the lives of Victoria's father and brothers, the sons of King George III (Roger Fulford, *The wicked uncles, the father of Queen Victoria and his brothers* (New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1933)). Despite a strict upbringing by George III, his sons rebelled against him and succumbed to the pleasures of the wealthy and privileged. George IV and William IV reigns were known for debauchery and dishonesty, as were the lives of their brothers the Duke of Kent and the Duke of Cumberland. In Edward VII Victoria's greatest fears were realized: that in character and action he would resemble not her beloved Albert, but her immoral uncles.

musicians, conductors, and composers, but for whatever reason she could not extend the same acknowledgment to female musicians. Examining Edward VII's reign would further contextualize Victoria's court and its importance for English music and musicians.

Bibliography

Alaya, Flavia. "Victorian Science and the 'Genius' of Woman." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38/2 (Apr-Jun. 1977): 261-280.

Anstruther, Ian. *Coventry Patmore's Angel*. London: Haggerston Press, 1992.

Ardener, Shirley. "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction." In *Women and Space: ground rules and social maps,* ed. Shirley Ardener, 11-34. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.

Barnett, John Francis. *Musical Reminiscences and Impressions*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.

Barr, Cyrilla, and Ralph P. Locke. "Introduction: Music Patronage as a 'Female-Centered cultural process.'" In *Cultivating Music in America: women patrons and activism since 1860* ed. Cyrilla Barr and Ralph P. Locke, 1-23. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Battersby, Christine. *Gender and Genius: Towards Feminist Aesthetics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Beedell, A. V. *The Decline of the English Musician 1788-1888*. Clarendon Press, 1992.

Beem, Charles Edward. *The Lioness Roared: the problems of female rule in British history.* Ph.D. diss., Arizona, 2002.

_____. *The Lioness Roared: the problems of female rule in English history*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Beetham, Margaret. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and desire in the woman's magazine 1800-1914*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Bilich, Antonella F. *Singin' in the Reign: participatory song in the Catholic liturgy*. MA: McMaster University, 2000.

Black, Jeremy. *The English Press 1621-1861*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001.

Blair, Juliet Blair. "Private Parts in Public places: the case of the actress." In *Women and Space: ground rules and social maps,* ed. Shirley Ardener, 205-228. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.

Blake, Laurel, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein. "Introduction." *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. Laurel Blake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein, 1-7. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "Political Representation: Elements for a theory of the political field." In *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thomson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, 171-202. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.

_____. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, trans. Richard Nice, 241-255. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

_____. *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

_____. *Sociology in Question*, trans. Richard Nice. London: Sage 1993, 70. Quoted in Toril Moi, *What is a Woman?*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

_____. *The Field of Cultural Production: essays on Art and Literature*, trans. and ed. Randal Johnson. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

Bourne, J. M. *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth Century England*. Baltimore, MD: E. Arnold, 1986.

Bové, Paul A. "Discourse." In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin, 2nd edition, 50-65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Brooks, Jeanice. "Nadia Boulanger and the Salon of the Princess de Polignac." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46/3 (Fall 1993): 415-468.

Budds, Michael. *Music at the Court of Queen Victoria*. Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1987.

Caine, Barbara. *English Feminism, 1780-1980*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Castle, Terry. *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Cherry, Deborah. *Beyond the Frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain, 1850-1900*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Chorley, Henry F. "Concerts and Operas." *Westminster Review* 27 (1837): 71.

_____. "Madame Viardot [née] Garcia: a glance at the Italian Opera." *Bentley's Miscellany* 24 (1848): 40.

Citron, Marcia. *Gender and the Musical Canon*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Clare, Jerrold. *The Early Court of Queen Victoria*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 16 April 1839, p. 1; Issue 17017, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 28 April 1841, p. 1; Issue 17656, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 18 May 1844, p. 3; Issue 18613, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 8 May 1846, p. 1; Issue 19231, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 11 May 1849, p. 1; Issue 20173, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 18 April 1850, p. 1; Issue 20466, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 25 May 1850, p. 4; Issue 20498, col F.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 31 May 1850, p. 4; Issue 20503, col E.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 1 June 1850, p. 5; Issue 20504, col E.

"Classified Advertising: Mrs. Anderson's Annual Grand Concert," *Times* (London) 29 May 1851, p. 4; Issue 20814, col B.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 19 May 1852, p. 4; Issue 21119, col C.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 14 May 1853, p. 4; Issue 21428, col E.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 9 June 1854, p. 2; Issue 21763, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 29 May 1856, p. 1; Issue 22380, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 5 May 1857, p. 1; Issue 22672, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 8 May 1858, p. 1; Issue 22988, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 11 June 1859, p. 1; Issue 23330, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 10 May 1860, p.1; Issue 23616, col A.

"Classified Advertising," *Times* (London), 14 May 1861, p. 1; Issue 23932, col A.

Clément, Catherine. *Opera, or the Undoing of Woman.* Trans. Betsy Wing. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 1989.

Code, Lorraine. *What can she know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

"Concert of Ancient Music," *Times* (London), 30 April 1840, p. 5; Issue 17345, col D.

Cook, Judith, and Judy S. Tsou, eds. *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

"Court and Fashionable Intelligence," *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic* 11/2 (August 1837): 88.

"Court Circular," *The Times* (London) 23 June 1838, p. 4; Issue 16763, col F.

"Court Circular," *Times* (London) 9 May 1854, p. 9; Issue 21736, col F.

"Court Circular," *Times* (London), 11 May 1854, p. 9; Issue 21738, col C.

"Court Circular," *Times* (London), 26 May 1854, p. 7; Issue 21751, col E.

"Court Circular," *Times* (London), 3 June 1854, p. 12; Issue 21758, col D.

"Court Circular," *Times* (London), 17 June 1854, p. 9; Issue 21770, col A.

"Court Circular," *Times* (London), 4 July 1844, p. 5; Issue 18653, col D.

Coulter, John, and John A. Cooper, eds. *Queen Victoria: her gracious life and reign.* Guelph, Ont.: World Publishing Co., 1901.

Craik, Dinah Maria Mulock. *A Woman's Thoughts about Women.* London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857.

Crossick, Geoffrey. "Classes and the Masses in Victorian England." *History Today* 37/3 (March 1987): 29-35.

Crow, Duncan. *The Victorian Woman.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1971.

Cvetkovich, Ann. *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture, and Victorian Sensationalism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. " 'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case." *Feminist Studies* 3/3-4 (Spring/Summer 1976): 83-103.

Davis, Tracy C. *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian London*. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Dennis, Martha Burns. "A Gallery of Teachers and Students." In *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas et al., 165-169. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.

DeNora, Tia. "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna." In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914*, ed. William Weber, 185-197. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Derrett, Allison, Windsor, to Jennifer Caines, Edmonton, 8 May 2006.

Drabble, Margaret. *For Queen and Country: Britain in the Victorian Age*. New York: Seabury Press, 1979.

Drinker, Sophie. *Music and women: the story of women in their relation to music*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1948; reprint, New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1995.

"Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times* (London), 9 November 1858, p. 6; Issue 23146, col F.

Duff, David. *Victoria and Albert*. New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1972.

Dunn, Leslie C. and Nancy A. Jones. "Introduction." In *Embodied Voices: Representing female vocality in Western culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, 1-13. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: a social history*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

_____. Simon McVeigh, and Michael Musgrave. "London (i), § VI, 2: Music life: 1800-1945: Concert life." *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed May 8, 2006), http://www.grovemusic.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/shared/views/article.html?section=music.16904.6.2.1#music.16904.6.2.1

Ellis, Katharine. "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50/2-3 (1997): 353-385.

Erikson, Carolly. *Her Little Majesty: the life of Queen Victoria*. New York, NY: Simon &Schuster, 1997.

Forbes, Elizabeth. *Mario and Grisi: a biography*. London: Victor Gallanz Ltd, 1985.

Fulford, Roger. *Queen Victoria*. London: Collins, 1951.

_____. *The wicked uncles, the father of Queen Victoria and his brothers*. New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1933.

Gillett, Paula. "Entrepreneurial women musicians in Britain: from the 1790s to the early 1900s." In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: managers, charlatans, and idealists,* ed. William Weber, 198-220. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

_____. *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914: 'Encroaching on All Men's Privileges'*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Golburne, John. *An Apology, in the behalf of Womans Excellency: Together with some Examples of Women-Worthies. As Also the Character of a Virtuous and Accomplished Woman: Wherein Ladies of Pleasure are taxed and admonished*. London: Printed for Henry Mortlock, 1674.

Goodwin, Sarah Webster. "Wordsworth and Romantic Voice." In *Embodied Voices: representing female vocality in Western culture* ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, 65-79. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Green, Lucy. *Music, gender, education*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Hackett, Helen. "Dreams or designs, cults or constructions? The Study of Images of Monarchs." *The Historical Journal* 44/3 (2001): 811-823.

Hall-Witt, Jennifer L., "Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform: Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera in London," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 121-144. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

"Hanover-Square Rooms," *Times* (London), 31 May 1836, p. 4; Issue 16117, col G.

Hanslick, Eduard. *Vienna's Golden Years of Music 1850-1900*, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants III. New York: Books for Library Press, 1950, 1969.

Hanson, Alice M. *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Heilbrun, Carolyn. *Writing a Woman's Life*. New York: Norton, 1988, 100. Quoted in Lorraine Code, *What can she know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge*, 101. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

"Her Majesty's," *Illustrated London News* 12/315 (May 6, 1848), 296.

"Her Majesty's State Concert," *Times* (London), 3 July 1856), p. 9; Issue 22410, col C.

"Her Majesty's Theatre," *Times* (London), 18 May 1842, p. 5; Issue17986, col B.

"Her Majesty's Theatre," *Times* (London) 5 May 1848, p. 5; Issue 19855, col C.

"Her Majesty's Theatre—The Queen's Visit," *Times* (London) 16 June 1847, p. 8; Issue 19577, col C.

"Her Majesty's—The State Visit," *Illustrated London News* 10/268 (June 19, 1847), 393-4.

"Her Majesty with her Royal Guests, at the Opera last Saturday," *Illustrated London News*: 4/3 (Saturday, June 15, 1844), 389.

Holland, Henry Scott, and W. S. Rockstro. *Jenny Lind the Artist, 1820-1851*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1893.

Helsinger, Elizabeth, Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder. *The Woman Question: society and literature in Britain and America, 1827-1883*. Vol. 1, Defining Voices. New York: Garland, 1983.

Homans, Margaret, and Adrienne Munich. *Remaking Queen Victoria*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Homans, Margaret. *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

"Home and Court Life of Queen Victoria" *Woman at Home* 4/21 (January 1896): 325.

Hopkins, J. Castell. *Queen Victoria: her life and reign*. Toronto: The Queen Publishers, 1901.

Hughes, Meirion, and Robert Strandling. *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a national music*. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

Hust, W. H. "Lucy Anderson." *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 22 June 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca>.

Hyde, Norman. *Four Faces of English Music*. West Sussex: Churchman Publishing Ltd., 1985.

Johnson, James H. *Listening in Paris: a cultural history*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Kaufman, Tom. "The Grisi-Viardot Controversy, 1848-1852." *The Opera Quarterly* 14/2 (Winter 1998): 7-22.

Keefer, Lubov Breit. *Music Angels: A Thousand Years of Patronage*. Baltimore: Keefer, 1976.

Kent, Christopher. "Image and Reality: The Actress in Society." In *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. Martha Vicinus, 94-116. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Klein, Hermann. *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London*. London: William Heineman, 1903.

Langley, Leanne. "The Music Press in Nineteenth Century England." *Notes* 46/3 (March 1990): 583-592.

Lawler, Steph, "Rules of Engagement: Habitus, power and resistance." In *Feminism After Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs, 110-128. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Leonardi, Susan, and Rebecca A. Pope. *The Diva's Mouth: body, voice, prima donna politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

Leppert, Richard. "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt." In *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano*, ed. James Parakilas et al., 252-281. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.

_____. *The Sight of Sound: music, representation and the history of the body.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

"Liszt's Recitals," *Times* (London), 2 July 1840, p. 6; Issue 17399, col F.

Litzmann, Bertold, ed. *Clara Schumann: An Artist's Life, based on material found in diaries and letters*, trans, Grace E. Hadow, vol. 2 . New York: Vienna House, 1972.

Loesser, Arthur. *Men, Women and Pianos: a social history.* New York: Dover Publications Inc, 1990.

Longford, Elizabeth, ed. *Louisa: Lady in Waiting.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1979.

_____. *Victoria RI.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1964.

Lord Chamberlain's Records, National Archives, Kew Gardens. Books 2/81, 3/51, 6/167, 9/355, 9/356.

Lovell, Terry. "Bourdieu, class and gender: 'The return of the living dead'?" In *Feminism After Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs, 37-56. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

"Lyceum-Opera Buffa," *Times* (London), 13 February 1837, p. 7; Issue 16338, col C.

MacArthur, Sally. *Feminist Aesthetics in Music.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002.

MacDonald, Cheryl. *Emma Albani: a Victorian Diva.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984.

Mackerness, Eric David. *A Social History of English Music.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.

"Madame Grisi and M. De Melcy," *Times* (London), 15 April 1851, p. 8; Issue 20776, col C).

"Madame Pleyel's Concert," *Times* (London), 21 May 1852, p. 8, Issue 21121, col E.

"Madame Pleyel's Concerts," *Illustrated London News* 20/560 (May 22, 1852): 414.

"Madame Pleyel's Debut," *Illustrated London News* 8/212 (May 23, 1846): 338.

"Madame Pleyel's First Recital," *Times* (London), 20 May 1846, p. 5; Issue 19241, col E.

"Mademoiselle Victoire Balfe," *Reynold's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art* 19/476 (August 22, 1856): 50.

Mallett, Lady Marie. *Life with QueenVictoria; Marie Mallet's Letters from Court, 1887-1901*, ed. Victor Mallet. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968.

McCann, Bill, "Victorian Etiquette IX: Petitions," www.storyoflondon.com accessed November 10, 2005.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere." In *Lady Bountiful Revisited: women, philanthropy and power* ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy, 1-31. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

McKenzie-Grieve, Averil. *Clara Novello 1818-1908*. London: Bles, 1955.

McVeigh, Simon. *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Miller, Richard. *National Schools of Singing: English, French, German and Italian techniques of Singing Revisited* rev. ed. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, Inc, 1977.

"Miss Adelaide Kemble," *The London Saturday Journal* 3 (Saturday, February 5, 1842): 62.

"Miss Augusta Thomson," *Illustrated London News* 36/1038 (June 30, 1860): 620.

"Miss Catherine Hayes," *Reynold's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art* 17/442 (Saturday, December 27, 1856): 338.

"Miss Louisa Pyne," *The London Journal* 26/671 (1858): 285-6.

Mitchell, Sally. *Daily Life in Victorian England.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Moi, Toril, *What is a Woman?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Morris, Charles. *Life and Reign of Queen Victoria: being a complete narrative of her complete life and beneficent reign...including the lives of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.* Chicago: International Publishing Company, 1901.

Morris, Mitchell, "Reading as an Opera Queen." In *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music,* ed. Ruth A Solie, 184-200. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

"Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Illustrated London News* 20/562 (June 5, 1852): 450.

"Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 14 June 1860, p. 12; Issue 23646, col G.

"Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 18 June 1861, p. 5; Issue 23962, col E.

"Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 23 June 1851, p. 3; Issue 20835, col E.

"Mrs. Anderson's Concert," *Times* (London), 26 May 1849, p. 8; Issue 20186, col C.

Munich, Adrienne. *Queen Victoria's Secrets*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

"Music & the Drama: Madame Pleyel's Recitals," *Athenaeum* 969 (May 23, 1846): 530-1.

"Musical Intelligence—Leipzic [sic]," *Times* (London), 10 December 1846, p. 5; Issue 19416, col C.

"Musical Union," *Times* (London), 22 April 1852, p. 5; Issue 21096, col F.

Myers, Margaret. "Searching for Data about European Ladies' Orchestras, 1870-1950." In *Music and Gender*, ed. Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond, 189-245. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.

"News: M. Thalberg's Concert," *Times* (London), 16 May 1842, p. 5; Issue 17981, col E.

"News: Mr. J. Nash's view of Windsor Castle," *Times* (London) 10 May 1847, p. 6; Issue 19545, col C.

"News: Musical Intelligence—Leipsic [sic]," *Times* (London) 10 December 1846, p. 5, Issue 19416, col C.

Ockerbloom, Mary Mark. "Caroline Norton." http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/norton/nc-biography.html <accessed 10 Feb 2006.

"Opening of the Royal Italian Opera," *Illustrated London News* 10/258 (April 10, 1847), 234.

"Our Musical Corner," *Eliza Cook's Journal* 7/163 (Saturday, June 12, 1852): 111.

Palser, Jann. "Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation." In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914*, ed. William Weber, 221-255. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2004.

"Parliamentary Papers," *Times* (London), Monday February 28, 1842, p. 4, Issue 17918; col. A.

Perkin, Joan. *Victorian Women*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

"Philharmonic Concerts," *Times* (London), 29 April 1851, p. 8; Issue 20788, col E.

"Philharmonic Society," *Athenaeum* 1227 (May 3, 1851): 483.

"Philharmonic Society," *Athenaeum* 1275 (April 3, 1852): 386.

"Philharmonic Society," *Times* (London), 18 May 1841, p. 6; Issue 17673, col C.

"Philharmonic Society," *Times* (London), 30 March 1852, p. 8; Issue 21076, col F.

Ponsonby, A. *Queen Victoria*. London: Duckworth, 1933.

Post, Jennifer C. "Erasing the boundaries between public and private in women's performance tradition." In *Cecilia Reclaimed Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Judith Cook and Judy S. Tsou, 35-51. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

"Queen Victoria and Music." *Musical Times* 42 (June 1, 1901): 374-5.

Raymond, John, ed. *Queen Victoria's Early Letters*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963.

Raynor, Henry. *Music and Society since 1815*. London: Barry & Jenkins, 1976.

Reay, Diane. "Gendering Bourdieu's concepts of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class." In *Feminism After Bourdieu*, ed. Lisa Adkins and Beverley Skeggs, 57-74. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Reich, Nancy B. *Clara Schumann: the Artist and the Woman*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Rendall, Jane. "Friendship and Politics: Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Bessie Raynor Parkes." In *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the 19th Century* ed. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall, 136-170. New York: Routledge, 1989.

"Reviews: Concerts of Ancient Music," *Times* (London), 9 May 1844, p. 5; Issue 18605, col A.

"Reviews: Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times* (London), 6 October 1838, p. 5; Issue 16853, col A.

"Reviews: Drury-Lane Theatre," *Times* (London), 9 November 1858, p. 6; Issue 23146, col F.

"Reviews: Her Majesty's Theatre, The Queen's Visit," *Times* (London), 7 June 1847, p. 5; Issue 19569, col F.

"Reviews: Miss A. Goddard's Concerts," *Times* (London), 17 May 1856, p. 5; Issue 22370, col F.

"Reviews: Morning Concert," *Times* (London), 3 May 1836, p. 5; Issue 16093, col F.

"Reviews: Philharmonic Concerts," *Times* (London), 15 April 1856, p. 10; Issue 22342, col E.

"Reviews: Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 18 October 1860, p. 12; Issue 23754, col D.

"Reviews: Royal Italian Opera," *Times* (London) 16 July 1851, p. 8; Issue 20855, col D.

Rohr, Deborah. "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: the Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839-1866." *Journal of Musicological Research* 18 (1999): 307-347.

_____. *A Profession of Artisans: the careers and social status of British musicians, 1750-1850*. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983.

_____. *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: a profession of artisans*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Rowell, George. *Queen Victoria goes to the Theatre*. London: P. Elek, 1978.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 21 March 1859, p. 9; Issue 23259, col F.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 4 October 1859, p. 6; Issue 23428, col E.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 12 March 1860, p. 12; Issue 23565, col B.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 24 October 1860, p. 9; Issue 23759, col G.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 25 February 1861, p. 12; Issue 23865, col B.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 25 October 1861, p. 7; Issue 24073, col F.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 29 October 1861, p. 9; Issue 24076, col C.

"Royal English Opera," *Times* (London), 19 November 1861, p. 12; Issue 24094, col B.

"Royal Visit to the Theatres," *Court Magazine, Monthly Critic, Lady's Magazine and Museum* United Series 1 (1838): 137.

Ruskin, John. *Sesame and Lilies, The Two Paths, The King of the Gold River*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1909.

Rutherford, Susan. "The Voice of Freedom: Images of the Prima Donna." In *The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and Theatre 1850-1914* ed. Vivien Gardner and Susan Rutherford, 95-113. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Sachko-MacLeod, Diane. *Art and the Victorian Middle Classes: money and the making of cultural identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Schoch, Richard W. *Queen Victoria and the theatre of her age*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

"Season of 1852 at the Royal Italian Opera," *Illustrated London News* 21/577 (September 4, 1852): 140.

Solie, Ruth A. "Sophie Drinker's History." In *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip Bohlman, 23-43. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

_____. "Changing the Subject." *Current Musicology* 53 (1993): 55-65.

Stanley, Liz. *Feminism and Friendship*. Manchester: Department of Sociology, University of Manchester, 1985.

Strachey, Lytton. *Queen Victoria: an eminent illustrated biography*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 1921; reprint 1998.

"Surrey Theatre," *Times* (London), 17 September 1853, p. 11; Issue 21536, col C.

Shearman, Deidre. *The Image of Victoria: patronage, profits and patriotism*. Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1996.

Taylor, Agnus E. "Madame Malibran de Beriot," *Court magazine and Belle Assemblée* 9/5 (November 1836):191-194.

"The Actress," *Figaro in London* 7/367 (1838): 115.

"The Drama," *Metropolitan Magazine* 20 (December 1837): 123.

"The Opera-Glass: Haymarket," *Actors by Daylight* 2/47 (Saturday, January 19, 1839): 70.

"The Queen & the Actress," *The London Journal and weekly record of literature, science and art* 22/566 (1856): 287.

"The Queen and the Foreign Singers," *Figaro in London* 7/350 (Saturday, August 25, 1838): 132.

"The Queen as Musician," *Musical Times* 38 (June 1, 1897): 369-71.

"The Queen's Visits to the Opera House," *Actors by Daylight and Miscellany of the Drama, Music, and Literature* 1/20 (July 14, 1838): 158-9.

"The Queen's Visits to the Opera House," *Actors by Daylight and Miscellany of the Drama, Music, and Literature* 1/19 (July 7, 1838): 149-50.

"The Royal Actresses Debut," *Figaro in London* 6/312 (November 25, 1837), 185.

"The Second State Visit to Her Majesty's Theatre," *Times* (London) 22 January 1858, p. 8; Issue 22897, col D.

"The visit of Jenny Lind to America (reprinted from the New York Herald)," *Times* (London), 6 March 1850), p. 7; Issue 20429, col F.

"Theatricals," *Figaro in London* 8/401 (Saturday, August 10, 1839): 244-5.

Thompson, Dorothy. *Queen Victoria: The Woman, The Monarchy and the People*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.

Vallone, Lynne. *Becoming Victoria*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

Vicinus, Martha, ed. *Suffer and Be Still: women in the Victorian Age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.

_____. "Introduction: The Perfect Victorian Lady." In *Suffer and Be Still: women in the Victorian age,* ed. Martha Vicinus, vii-xv. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.

Victoria, Queen of England. *Letters of Queen Victoria: a selection from Her Majesties correspondence between the years 1837-1861*. Vol. 1, ed. Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Escher, v. 1 London: John Murray, 1911.

_____. *Queen Victoria's Journal*. Windsor Castle: Royal Archives, 1836-1861.

Weber, William. "Artisans in Concert Life in Mid-Nineteenth Century London and Paris." *Journal of Contemporary History* 13/2 (1978): 253-267.

_____. "From miscellany to homogeneity in concert programming." *Poetics* 29(2001): 125-134.

_____. "The Muddle of the Middle Classes." *19th Century Music* 3/2 (1979): 175-185.

Weintraub, Stanley. *Victoria: an intimate biography*. New York: Truman Talley Books, 1987.

Weliver, Phyllis. *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000.

Whitesitt, Linda. "Women's support and encouragement of music and musicians." In *Women and Music: a history*, ed. Karin Pendle, 2d ed., 481-494. Bloomington: Indiana University, Press, 2001.

Williamson, Rosemary. "Dulcken, Louise." *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed October 19, 2004), http://www.grovemusic.com

Wood, Elizabeth. "Performing Rights: a sonography of Women's suffrage." *The Musical Quarterly* 79/4 (Winter 1995): 606-643.

Woodham-Smith, Cecil. *Queen Victoria: from her birth to the death of the Prince Consort*. New York: Knopf, 1972.

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp#mid <accessed March 12, 2007>

Yadav, Brigadier Kim. *British Lions and the Indian Tigers: Triumph of the Sepoy against the British Sword*. New Dehli: Manas Publications, 2004.